

BUCHANAN: AFTER BAGHDAD WHAT? ■ TAKI TAKES ON FRUM

APRIL 21, 2003 • \$3.00

The American Conservative

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What's Wrong With Neoconservatism?

By Scott McConnell



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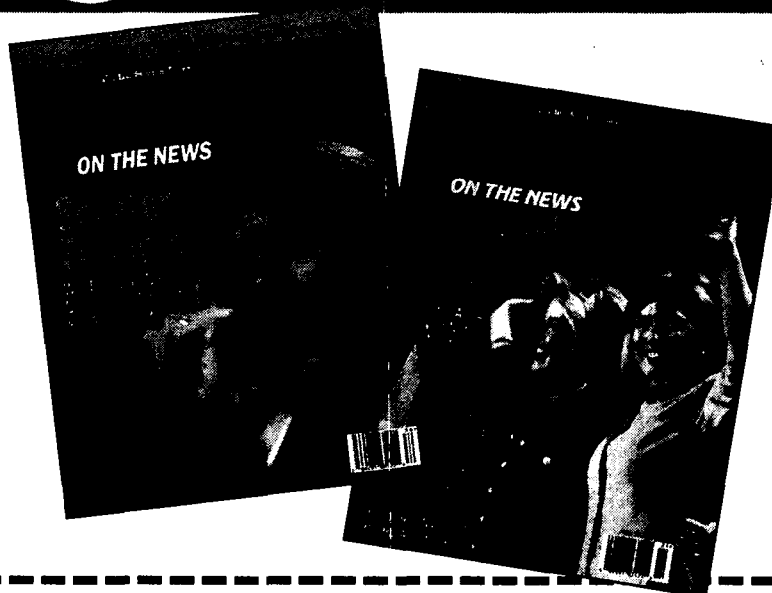
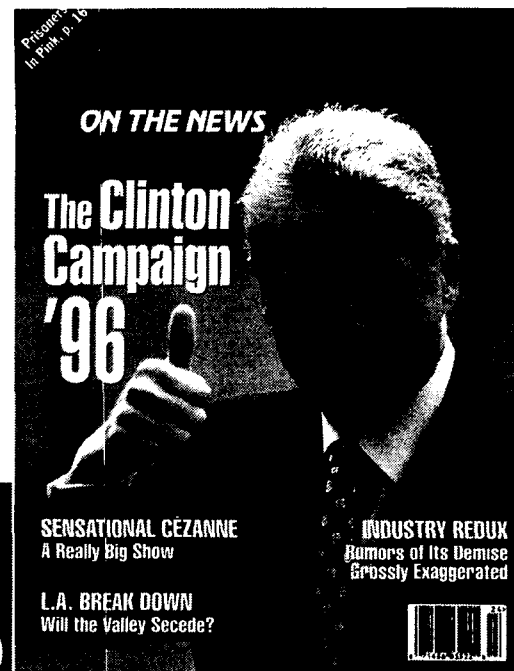
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HERE COMES HALLIBURTON

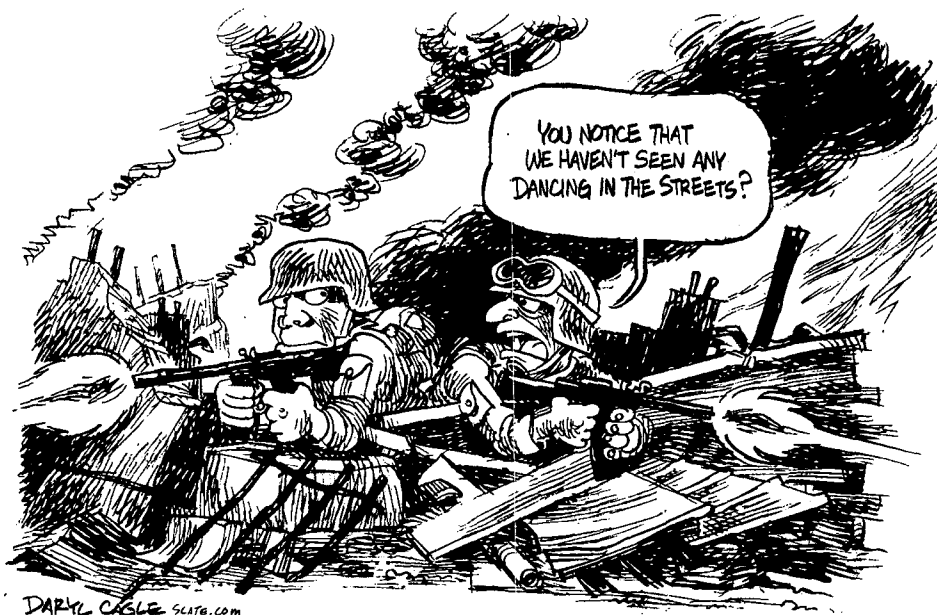
Recall candidate George W. Bush: "I think what we need to do is convince people who live in the lands they live in to build the nations. Maybe I'm missing something here. I mean, we're going to have kind of a nation-building corps from America? Absolutely not." That was then.

The *New York Times* reports that a team of American officials, under the direct command of the U.S. military, will run postwar Iraq. The UN has not been invited, European and Asian offers of assistance have been declined, and non-governmental organizations need not apply.

The new sheriff in town is retired Gen. Jay Garner, head of the Pentagon's Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance. He has set up shop in Kuwait and is building a staff of diplomats and bureaucrats to handle everything from refugees to road construction. Iraqi exiles angling for starring roles will have to settle for seats on an "advisory council."

The reconstruction won't come cheap, and U.S. companies are clamoring for a piece of the multi-billion dollar pie. A House amendment to exclude corporations in which top administration officials held positions in the last four years was defeated in committee. So bidding continues among politically-connected rebuilders who combined gave \$2.8 million to the past two presidential campaigns—68 percent to Republicans, 32 percent to Democrats. (Kellogg Brown & Root, a subsidiary of Halliburton, the company Vice President Dick Cheney headed until he joined the GOP ticket, has already won a no-bid contract to extinguish fires in the Iraqi oilfields.)

With destruction incomplete, reconstruction costs remain uncertain. But estimates range from \$50 billion for the first year—a tab likely to be borne by American taxpayers—to \$600 billion



over the next decade, a figure that could be offset by oil revenue once Iraq's oil fields resume production.

While many debate the morality of bombing in the first place, since we're in, there's a certain responsibility to repair damage, and through history America has proved generous in this regard. But ongoing occupation—the "nation-building corps from America" Mr. Bush rightly dismissed—is another thing entirely. As columnist Thomas Friedman noted, just because Iraqis hate Saddam does not mean they will love us. They are quite capable of despising both.

[NEOCONS]

INFLUENCE FOR SALE

Richard Perle's forced resignation from chairmanship of the Defense Policy Board is a welcome step, albeit a tiny one. Tectonic political shifts can begin with the discovery of simple ethics transgressions. And Perle's ethics—he resigned from the influential board after news emerged that he was earning a large fee to assist the sale of American fiber optics technology to a Chinese-

owned company—should disqualify him from any federal post.

Some months ago, we called on President Bush to fire Richard Perle because of his public role in spreading discord with American allies and agitating for a war against Iraq. Memorably dubbed "generalissimo of the cakewalk corps" by Mary McGrory, Perle is one of the many neocons who, having avoided military service themselves, are using their positions to push the United States into four or five wars in the Middle East. For them, U.S. ground action always seems easy: last summer, Perle opined to a PBS interviewer, "Support for Saddam, including within his military organization, will collapse at the first whiff of gunpowder"; he estimated a mere 40,000 troops would be needed to push Saddam aside.

Historians will decide whether working to sell valuable military-use technology to the Chinese while advising the Pentagon is a greater crime than trying to push the U.S. into a military empire in the Middle East. Bottom line is that Congress should begin going through the entire Defense Policy Board with a fine-

tooth comb. Richard Perle's dealings with foreign governments merit an FBI investigation all by themselves.

[PORK]

PRIORITIES

While a final tally is far off, President Bush has asked Congress for \$74.7 billion to pay for the first six months of the war. His request, based on hostilities lasting 30 days, includes \$44 billion for military operations, \$10 billion to cover activation of reserve forces, and \$6.5 billion for munitions. To deal with the immediate aftermath, the White House wants \$500 million in humanitarian aid and \$1.7 billion for initial reconstruction. Those figures are dwarfed by a line-item seemingly unrelated to the Iraqi action: aid to Israel, \$10 billion.

[CULTURE]

GENERATION GAP

"I'm troubled—where do these kids come from?" Nina Verin asked a *New York Times* reporter assigned to cover a cultural shift in her liberal Minnesota town. This upper-Midwest mother wasn't lamenting standard teenage disconnect—cacophonous music, quirky fashions, impenetrable slang. Instead, she told the *Times*, "I was shocked that there were that many students who felt strong enough and confident enough to speak about being pro-life."

Parents in Red Wing, Minn. are part of a phenom being repeated across the country: young people raised to believe abortion is a right are now breaking with the pro-choice position. A recent study showed that 54 percent of college freshmen believe abortion should be legal, compared to 67 percent who answered similarly a decade before. The *Times* also reported on a poll it conducted in January that found that among young people aged 18 to 29, the percentage of those who "agree that abortion should be generally available to those who want

it" was down from 48 percent to 39 percent over ten years.

The *Times* seeks to explain the changing attitudes of the post-*Roe* generation—improved contraception, fewer teen pregnancies, emphasis on adoption—but gives most credit to pro-life organizations, often regarded as ineffective due to a lack of legislative progress: "The most commonly cited reason for the increasingly conservative views of young people is their receptiveness to the way anti-abortion campaigners have reframed the national debate on the contentious topic, shifting the emphasis from a woman's rights to the rights of the fetus."

Whether teenage opinion will translate into political action once these young people come of age remains open to debate. But as those most likely to have abortions, these are critical minds for the life lobby to change.

[WAR]

SHORT MEMORIES

Paul Wolfowitz had a ready answer when asked why Pentagon civilian leaders underestimated the Iraqi resistance to U.S. and British troops. The Deputy Defense Secretary said, "I think we probably did underestimate the willingness of this regime to commit war crimes." Gee. This is a regime so manifestly evil that, according to neocon lore, if it acquired weapons of mass destruction it would immediately use them against American cities (or transfer them to al-Qaeda), a regime so mad that deterrence couldn't possibly work. Yet, Wolfowitz tells us, the sharp minds advising Rumsfeld couldn't conceive that the Iraqi regime would, when attacked on its own territory, use exactly the same vicious tactics (disguising troops as civilians, blending in with civilians, terrorism) the Vietcong used against American soldiers 35 years ago. We know Wolfowitz didn't serve in Vietnam, but we thought he might have read about it. ■

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The American Conservative, Vol. 2, No. 8, April 21, 2003 (ISSN 1540-966X). AC is published 24 times per year, biweekly (except for double issues in January and August) for \$49.97 per year by The American Conservative, LLC, 1300 Wilson Blvd, Suite 120, Arlington VA, 22209. (703) 875-7600. Periodicals postage pending at Arlington, VA, and additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 99010, Collingswood, NJ 08108-0612.

Subscription rates: \$49.97 per year (24 issues) in the U.S., \$54.97 in Canada (U.S. funds), and \$69.97 other foreign (U.S. funds). Back issues: \$6.00 (prepaid) per copy in USA, \$7.00 in Canada (U.S. funds). For subscription orders, payments, and other subscription inquiries—by mail: *The American Conservative*, P.O. Box 99010, Collingswood, NJ 08108-0612. By phone: 800-579-6148 (outside the U.S./Canada call 856-488-5321). Via the web: www.amconmag.com. When ordering a subscription please allow 4-6 weeks for delivery of your first issue and all subscription transactions. This issue went to press on April 3, 2003. Copyright 2003 *The American Conservative*. Inquiries to the editor should be sent to letters@amconmag.com.

LET ISRAEL BE ISRAEL

I am an Israeli, and I don't buy into the accusations of anti-Semitism against you ("Whose War," Patrick J. Buchanan, March 24). I agree with almost everything you say, but not your descriptions of the Arab states and the Oslo Accords. If all Arab states were destroyed, I would not shed a tear (I am not saying that this is a job of the U.S.), and the Oslo Accords are bad for Israel because they pave the way for the destruction of Israel. From your otherwise excellent article, there is an impression that all Arab states want is a just peace. They want the destruction of Israel, and it is silly to pretend otherwise. My wish is that the Americans drop Israel (I think that foreign help only keeps Israel socialistic) and butt out.

SASHA PETROV
via email

LEFT FROM THE BEGINNING

I'm a liberal, but I can't think of anyone who has earned my respect more since the 2000 election than Mr. Buchanan. He has been seriously maligned, and I am going to revisit some of his ideas without the intellectual blinders that demagoguery puts on. Actions speak louder than words, and though I might not agree with all Mr. Buchanan has to say, his conduct has shown him to be a man of honor, deserving of consideration.

RYK TOMPKINS
via email

COMMON GROUND

Usually I dismiss your views and choose to disregard your opinions as coming from someone with whom I share no common ground (or very little, at any rate). However, if you persist in writing courageous, well-researched, and powerful articles such as "Whose War?" I may be forced to re-evaluate my position and subscribe to your publication.

PAUL MAJCHROWICZ
via email

AVENGE OKLAHOMA CITY

I strongly disagree with Buchanan's assertions that the war against Iraq is being fought for Israel. Iraq is one of the last countries Israel would like to see invaded. Iraq is expected to attack Israel with missiles, possibly tipped with WMD warheads, in the event of an American invasion. I don't think this is a scenario that Israel looks forward to.

The reason we are attacking Iraq is for America's interests. When America pulled out of Iraq a decade ago we left behind an angry, embittered, humiliated dictator with the means to make the lives of Americans miserable. Whether it is through paying terrorist groups to carry out attacks on America such as the two World Trade Center attacks, or the bombing in Oklahoma City, or assassination attempts on former presidents, we must put an end to Hussein's reign once and for all.

BEN MILLER
via email

HE CHOSE THEM

In light of this article, I would be described as a "neoconservative." I am an evangelical Christian who accepts the Bible to be the literal word of God; I am also a very conservative southern Republican who believes in the literal interpretation of our nation's Constitution. I do at times feel the conflict of my allegiances, but I am first a Christian, then an American.

I believe that I am responsible to God to respect and protect the people He chose as His own—the people of Israel. Do I believe that America should subordinate all of its national priorities to the interests of Israel? No, but the fact is, God said He would bless those who bless the descendants of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and curse those who curse them—which is exactly what the current Islamic world does.

I would not be brash and attempt to label Pat as an anti-Semite, but this arti-

cle comes across that way. For all her faults, Israel is special to God—and should be to Americans lest we fly in the face of our Maker.

J. DAVID LONG
via email

RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION

Rarely has an article angered me more deeply. Where does Mr. Buchanan get the nerve to advocate the interests of America over those of a small, distant nation? How dare he imply that the American populace have any say in their government's foreign policy, or be informed about what's actually driving it, simply because their sons will be sent to die for it? And what allows Mr. Buchanan to mention in public the Mossad's bombing of our people in Egypt or the act of war committed against the USS Liberty? Does he believe Americans are free to express any opinions they wish?

Frankly, I am disgusted. In spite of my obviously justifiable rage, I have just mailed in a subscription check for your horrible new periodical.

MICHAEL WALSH
Queens, N.Y.

CONNECT THE DOTS

I always liked you, however, I can't understand you caring whether Israel is part of the package against Saddam. Maybe so, but we don't need that as a reason to dispose of him. How quickly you forget 9/11. Concentrate on getting rid of Saddam before he strikes a second blow to a U.S. city. A terrorist is a terrorist. Wake up!

TONY VALERI
Eugene, Ore.

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[good-bye to all that]

Among the Neocons

A foot soldier in the ideological wars relates what went wrong with neoconservatism.

By Scott McConnell

IN WHAT MAY BE the twentieth example of the genre in the past decade, a neoconservative has written a magazine article excommunicating from the conservative movement Patrick Buchanan and others who fail to embrace war-mongering neoconservatism. A comedy skit could be made about these repeated efforts, as the excommunicated faction somehow fails simply to shut up and disappear as it is supposed to. David Frum's *National Review* article (April 7) is longer than most of its kind but predictable in its wielding of the standard neocon rhetorical weapons: those who disagree with his faction are racist, nativist, anti-Semitic, and of course "unpatriotic."

However tendentiously, Frum is addressing an important subject. There is a full-scale ideological war in the ranks of those who think of themselves as conservative and, if they were of age, supported Ronald Reagan a generation ago. As Frum notes, the split became apparent in the mid-1980s, spiked briefly in the early 1990s, and smoldered on through to the present. The neocons have always been the dominant side in the contest; they are more internally cohesive and far wealthier. Nonetheless they often, and rightly, feel unappreciated by those

they believe should admire them, and they are constantly on the lookout for ideological deviancy. Their opponents include the disparate right-wing sorts mentioned by Frum and—just as significantly—a far larger number of moderate, centrist, or establishment-oriented Republicans who are not by temperament given to ideological battling but who tend to perceive the neocons as dangerous zealots. This magazine was founded in great part to engage in the battle that Frum depicts.

The neocons would prefer to ignore their challengers. On paper, they should be able to: they hold key jobs in the Bush administration; control virtually all the major "conservative" media outlets—from the magazines, to the major television and radio shows, to the significant editorial pages—and play the dominant role in the better-funded think tanks and foundations. And yet they don't breathe easily. Frum's piece is a sequel to attacks on antiwar conservatives by Max Boot in the *Wall Street Journal* and Lawrence Kaplan and Robert Kagan in the *Washington Post*. All betray the same anxiety: that despite their wealth and position, the neoconservatives sense that they are no longer gaining adherents and now

are losing them.

For me these battles are intensely personal. Not because I harbor any rancor towards individuals on the other side, or have come under personal attack myself, but because my own bit of foot-soldiering in the ideological wars is virtually defined by the split between the neocons and traditional conservatives. As I write this, in my New York apartment there sits (sorted and labeled in plastic organizers) virtually every issue of *Commentary* from 1976 to the present. The contents include some fifteen pieces I wrote for the magazine, long essays and short reviews, between 1982 and 1995. I still take pride in virtually all I wrote there. I remember vividly the joyous moment when I learned I could actually get published in my favorite magazine, and, some years later, my giddiness at being invited to a small dinner at the Podhoretzes'. I remember with a wistful affection my close friendship with the late Eric Breindel, my admiration for the incisive mind of *Commentary* editor Neal Kozodoy. They all make up a big part of the person I am today.

I remember too my puzzlement upon hearing the first rumbles of the "paleo"

insurrection in the late 1980s: "What is their problem?" I might have said in the solicitous tone one uses about those who are not necessarily rational. My reaction to reading the *New York Times* account of Richard Neuhaus's eviction from the Rockford Institute's New York offices was, I would guess, very much the same as David Frum's. My views on Lincoln and Churchill were and remain boringly conventional. So what happened during the 1990s that could have transformed me from a neoconservative into the co-founder of a magazine that is anything but that?

Two new issues broke apart the 1980s Reaganite conservative consensus. The first was immigration. By the late 1980s, the impact of the 1965 immigration law had begun greatly to accelerate the pace of immigration. Younger readers may not recall the vital role *National Review* began to play in analyzing that law and the social, environmental, and political consequences it brought about. The battle was joined when John O'Sullivan (*NR*'s editor since 1988) published in 1992 Peter Brimelow's explosive "Time to Rethink Immigration," which quickly became the most debated conservative magazine article of the year. The piece

over to the magazine's position) one by me.

The neoconservatives, to my complete surprise, were not pleased.

In the summer of 1995, Neal Kozodoy gave me a copy of a letter. Written by Irwin Steltzer to the *Weekly Standard*'s Bill Kristol, it was making its way around the upper echelons of the neocon magazines and think tanks. Steltzer is a Bronx-born economist and *Weekly Standard* editor who lives part-time in London. While a gifted economic essayist, his most important function is surely as the ideological gendarme for Rupert Murdoch's American media properties.

Steltzer wrote to Kristol (and the wider world) that he was canceling his subscription to *National Review* because of its "increasingly offensive positions on such topics as immigration." He went on then to complain about a piece by Richard Neuhaus on anti-Semitism, which, Steltzer charged, was itself anti-Semitic. He added, apropos of a quote of Kristol's that appeared in Neuhaus's article, that he was "always suspicious" of Father Neuhaus's excerpting, "particularly in an article which contains cunningly placed little adjectives and descriptions." He concluded with a more

the youthful Rich Lowry, who immediately upon assuming his new post fired Peter Brimelow.

In the very early years of the neocon-paleocon skirmish, Russell Kirk, the somewhat fogeyish father of postwar American intellectual conservatism, gave a speech about the neocons at the Heritage Foundation. He generally praised them but added some words of caution. Quoting from a friend's letter, Kirk said, "It is significant that when the Neo-Cons wish to damn any conservative who has appealed for a grant from a conservative foundation, they tell the officers of the foundation the conservative is a fascist." I, of course, had heard of neocon campaigns against other conservatives, but the targets were not men I knew or agreed with. But I did know O'Sullivan and Neuhaus, and the Russell Kirk remark that had once seemed overheated became a good deal less so.

If *National Review* did not entirely drop the issue of immigration, in the post-O'Sullivan era it addressed it with markedly diminished zest. Mark Krikorian contributed some solid but uncontroversial pieces. John Miller, who had written a book that attacked several immigration reformers while calling for a renewed effort to "assimilate" an ever-growing number of new immigrants, replaced Brimelow on the masthead. The flame of "nativism" in the nation's leading conservative publication was safely extinguished, and the neocons breathed more easily as 1.5 million new immigrants entered the country every year.

Soon gone too was the magazine's intellectual flair and unpredictability, as it abandoned its role of pre-eminent arbiter of different voices within the conservative movement (and occasional critic of Republican politicians), for that of simple cheerleader for the GOP establishment. Readers would no longer find articles like Fred Iklé's on the perils of

GONE WAS NATIONAL REVIEW'S INTELLECTUAL FLAIR AND UNPREDICTABILITY, AS IT ABANDONED ITS ROLE OF PRE-EMINENT ARBITER OF DIFFERENT VOICES WITHIN THE CONSERVATIVE MOVEMENT.

forced the immigration debate into the open within the conservative movement, where it fused with the populist revolt breaking out in California over Proposition 187, an anti-illegal-alien measure. For the next five years, the magazine put what it called "The National Question" in the spotlight, publishing cover stories by Brimelow, Fred Iklé, O'Sullivan, and eventually (as I was won

general comment about John O'Sullivan's *National Review*: "Add to this *NR*'s applause for the immigration statutes of the 1920's, designed to keep eastern European Jews out, and you have a not-very-subtle form of anti-Semitism, dressed up as an attack on liberalism."

Bill Buckley stood by his editor initially, but not for long. Within a year, O'Sullivan was eased out, replaced by



CHRIS HEERS

worshipping the measures of economic growth for their own sake, or Dan Seligman on "IQ and National Prosperity." Seldom was anything published that might complicate the thoughts of the average Rush Limbaugh listener.

At roughly the same time that O'Sullivan was pushed from the helm of *National Review*, I was fired as editorial page editor of the *New York Post*, ostensibly for publishing an editorial opposing statehood for Puerto Rico and standing by it after the pressure started. The morning I was sacked, the *Post's* editor pointed out to me an op-ed in that day's paper by Mark Krikorian (the most measured of immigration-reform writers). He said accusingly, "You keep putting things in the paper like that."

In the mid-1990s, the post-Cold-War debates on American foreign policy began to assume a definitive new shape. When not focused on the Clinton sex life, the *Weekly Standard* agitated for a more belligerent U.S. stance in several areas of the world: first (and always) Iraq, then the former Yugoslavia, China, and Iran.

The *Standard* was aware of the visceral resistance to this more aggressive Kristol-Kagan-Perle-Wolfowitz line within the traditional Republican Party, both from politicians with some residual isolationist tendencies and from the realist-internationalists who predominated during the Cold War period. Writers of the latter persuasion had found a home in the *National Interest*, a quarterly founded in 1986, a time when neoconservatives and realists were more often allies, and edited from its inception until 2001 by the Australian, by way of Wales, Owen Harries.

Harries's journal was perhaps even more eclectic than *NR* under O'Sullivan, and like *NR* it gave a voice to all the major conservative tendencies. Harries had been a Cold Warrior but became worried that America would over-reach after having established itself as the "sole-surviving superpower." He frequently quoted Edmund Burke's admonition against nationalistic hubris: "I dread our being too much dreaded."

By the end of the 1990s, neoconserva-

tive tolerance for such perspectives was wearing rather thin. Lawrence Kaplan in the *Weekly Standard* lambasted *National Interest* writers who "blame America first," singling out James Schlesinger, Jack Kemp, James Kurth, Samuel Huntington, and Walter McDougall. All were faulted for advocating a foreign policy too solicitous of the sensibilities and cultures of other nations. Two years later, Kaplan published a similar article in the *New Republic*, attacking conservative foreign policy intellectuals who were skeptical about the good that would come from hegemonic America as "yearning to see U.S. power erode." Samuel Huntington (who worried about the impact of high immigration on national unity) and James Schlesinger (who had the temerity to call attention to the prominent role of the Israel lobby in formulating American Mideast policy) were singled out as particular offenders. "Guess Who Hates America" the *New Republic* titled Kaplan's piece. David Frum's attack on "unpatriotic conservatives" has a well-established pedigree.

While the attacks on Harries's journal and its contributors were more polite than Steltzer's smear of Neuhaus and O'Sullivan, they revealed something important about the state of neoconservatism: many of the Christian intellectuals of the first rank who identified quite wholeheartedly with the tendency during the 1980s did not anymore, and the neocons knew it. It was one thing to go after a Mel Bradford or a Samuel Francis (who identified too closely with the Old South to be widely accepted as mainstream). But Harries, Neuhaus, and O'Sullivan were public intellectuals of the highest caliber, the sort of people who really made the neoconservative ascendance of the 1980s far broader and more important than a simple "New York intellectual" (i.e., Jewish) phenomenon. Add to them Samuel Huntington, the Harvard political scientist who—if he wasn't a neocon by virtue of institutional ties, as a moderately hawkish and conservative Democrat seemed to be an almost pure representative of the ideological tendency—and you had a situation in which the neocon bastion was riven by defections of major figures.

Of course, this was muted: to most, the neocon world seemed to be growing

ever-growing network of neoconservative magazines and think tanks learned that the place for many of their real political views was: private life. As Owen Harries explained to me, "That is what an establishment is."

There are three main elements to Frum's indictment: racism ("racial passions run strong among the paleos"); antipathy towards Jews (he quotes something from Joe Sobran); and lack of enthusiasm for America's hand-in-glove alliance with Israel's current right-wing government (he quotes several writers who have appeared in this magazine). I obviously cannot speak for all those he mentions, many with views that don't resemble mine. But I can discuss Frum's charges through the prism of my own experience, as a neocon and after.

I was far more conscious of "racial passions" during my neocon years climbing the greasy pole at the *New York Post* than subsequently. No doubt this is partially due to the period (framed by the Tawana Brawley case and the O.J. trial, with the LA riots in between) and the job (writing mostly about urban politics). But I suspect some part of the difference is due to the surrounding culture of neoconservatism. It may not prove much of

Presbyterian church in Manhattan. No big epiphanies to relate, and unlike George W. Bush I cannot claim Christ as my favorite philosopher. But something rubs off from the Christian liturgy—its all-embracing quality, its summons to universal brotherhood—that makes "racial passions" of any sort seem a bit shameful. That's my experience anyway, but I suspect it is why the country's hardcore racialists are so vehemently anti-Christian.

From church may have come the spark of another realization: that the Palestinians, many of whom are Christian, are people deserving of dignity and rights. In one of the first Christmas services I attended, the minister alluded to Jesus' mother Mary as "a poor Palestinian woman." For a new congregant who had spent the previous decade in circles where the word "Palestinian" was rarely uttered without a sneer implying a congenital predilection for murder and mayhem, the phrase about Mary rattled around the mind for a while. During the Cold War, Israel-Palestine was a very secondary issue for me, and at the Cold War's end there came Oslo, which seemed certain to set matters to right. During the 1990s, the neoconservative I knew best (Eric Breindel) invariably spoke and wrote of Oslo as "a fact." Though Breindel had significant ties to the Israeli Right (Bibi Netanyahu spoke at his wedding party), he was friendly as well with Shimon Peres and Yitzhak Rabin's widow, Leah. It would shock me if he could have made common cause with such current Bush administration figures as Douglas Feith and Richard Perle, who worked with Netanyahu to undermine the Oslo Accords in the mid-1990s.

It is by now beyond serious dispute that the vast and uncritical American support for Israel looms large among the factors making the United States disliked and feared in the world. The push

A DINNER WITH SAM FRANCIS (OR VIRTUALLY ANY OTHER "PALEOCON") IS LESS TINGED WITH **SNICKERS AND WINKS** ABOUT THE BEHAVIOR OF PEOPLE OF COLOR THAN A DINNER IN THE NEW YORK **NEOCON WORLD**.

more dominant. And on many levels it was. The mid-'90s infusion of Murdoch cash (through the *Weekly Standard*, the Fox Network, and of course the *New York Post*) helped secure neocon ascendancy. Even *National Review* was safely in neocon hands. But unlike the 1980s, the hegemony was based increasingly on fear rather than respect. Conservatives who still had jobs in the seemingly

anything, but a dinner with Sam Francis (or virtually any other "paleocon") is less tinged with snickers and winks about the behavior of people of color than a dinner in the New York neocon world.

Another difference: church. Sometime in 1995, I began attending services for the first time since prep school, showing up sporadically at a mainline

for an even great number of wars in the Middle East—Norman Podhoretz now demands the U.S. overthrow the regimes of six or seven Muslim countries—is quite clearly driven by a concern for Israel's needs, not America's. Washington's commitment to Israel's existence is

the Amen Corner for the Sharons, Netanyahus, and Meir Kahanes of the world, and the neocons are well pleased. But conservatives who evince any public doubts about where the Israel tie is leading us are seen as dangerous anti-Semites, ripe for smearing.

PERHAPS MOST POLITICALLY ENGAGED JEWS CONSIDER THE NEOCON VIEW OF THE WORLD TO BE **RABID NONSENSE.**

a given—a logical and moral goal. But support for Israel's suppression of the Palestinians, whose lands the Israeli Right covets, does nothing but generate hatred for the United States. In the aftermath of 9/11, some neoconservatives (and others who are simply gullible) have touted the line that the United States is hated "because of its freedom." This slogan fit for small children contradicts what virtually any American with business, diplomatic, or military experience in the Middle East will say. Sadly, it wouldn't be the first time that a great nation came under the spell of a tragic delusion.

Frum's other indictment against the antiwar conservatives is anti-Semitism, the nuclear weapon accusation in American public life. The simple point to be made is that neoconservatism is not synonymous with Jewish opinion. (And indeed, several of the movement's prominent figures are Gentiles.) In their effort to marry American policies to the goals of the Israeli far Right, the neocons have embraced Norman Podhoretz's definition of anti-Semitism: if you are supportive of Israel, everything is fine. The neocons have no problem with those parts of the Christian Right that view the gathering of Jews in the Holy Land as a prelude to the final Armageddon, in which all Jews will convert to Christianity or perish. Such believers stand meekly in

The good news—because the Jewish contribution to nuanced and sophisticated political discussion in America is quite substantial—is that many (and perhaps most) politically engaged Jews consider the neocon view of the world to be rabid nonsense. To turn one's back on the Richard Perles and Paul Wolfowitzs and David Frums, who have worked to trash America's good name with their incessant warmongering, does not mean that one is turning one's back on Thomas Friedman, or Joe Klein, or Leonard Fein, or Michael Kinsley or anyone else in what would obviously be a very long list of non-extremist Jews, some who are conservative, many more who are not.

No matter how quickly Baghdad is conquered, it is clear that the neocons have led the United States into an extremely perilous situation, perhaps the most dangerous in its history. As strident advocates of open borders and the sworn enemies of immigration reform—they have helped bring about a situation where it was easy for terrorist cells to hide themselves within the nooks and crannies of the "first universal nation" they espouse.

Their unceasing agitation against a compromise peace in the Middle East, coupled with their lobbying for America to endorse to Sharon's ongoing humiliation of the Palestinians, has managed to

make America hated in parts of the world where it used to be admired, even loved. Some of that hatred has been turned—should we be surprised?—into anti-American terror. Now, as it prepares to occupy Iraq against the will of much of the Middle East while facing a rejuvenated al-Qaeda, America has fewer real friends and more ill-wishers than ever in its history. This is in considerable part the "accomplishment" of America's neocons, the fruit of the power they have achieved in the conservative movement and the influence they wield with an inexperienced and simple president. It will take years to undo the damage they have done, but there is no choice but to begin. ■

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[postwar shadows]

To Baghdad and Beyond

After victory, our troubles will have only just begun.

By Patrick J. Buchanan

AS THESE LINES are being written, the United States is building up a mighty force for the siege of Baghdad. Given the firepower being brought to bear on that city and its defenders, we are going to win this war, depose Saddam, occupy Baghdad, and rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction. Whether that battle of Baghdad comes in two days, two weeks, or two months, it is going to end in a U.S. military victory

But after victory, what? What will be the consequences of the first war of American empire? And is this president prepared for them?

Already, the "cakewalk" crowd that predicted a promenade into Baghdad, with Iraqis pouring out to welcome our invading army with garlands of desert flowers, has been discredited. Had the United States followed their counsel and confined U.S. invasion forces to fewer than 100,000 men, we would today be facing stalemate, far heavier casualties, and possible humiliation.

As it is, each day the fall of Baghdad is delayed is a victory for Saddam's regime. Anti-Americans worldwide, whose number is legion, are taking heart from Iraq's defiance of the last Superpower. Each day we are forced to rain death on the defenders and destruction on their ancient and fabled capital, for half a millennium the seat of the caliphate of

Islam, the greater the deposits of hatred of us in the Arab and Islamic world. This is Saddam's goal: to make us destroy Baghdad. If we are going to take him down, he wants to take down the good name of the United States forever in the eyes of Islam. He wants Arab and Islamic peoples to see us forever as the Mongols of modernity.

An Iraqi Intifada?

That Iraqi Fedayeen have been turning up along our 300-mile supply line from Kuwait, ambushing marines and soldiers, disguised in U.S. uniforms, tells us that those who warned that Iraq could become America's West Bank were right. Already, a suicide bomber in a taxi killed four U.S. soldiers in Nasariyah.

Syria and Iran are now infiltrating warriors into Iraq for the postwar *intifada*. If, after we take Baghdad, U.S. occupation troops are being nightly sniped at, wounded and killed, not many weeks will elapse before the American people tell President Bush to get the disarmament done, and get our troops out.

To neoconservatives, this is but the first engagement of a long war for glory, empire, and "democratization" of the Islamic world. But the president has never made the case for that war. And the American people have never signed

on to that war. Moreover, a struggle is already shaping up in the War Cabinet over what our Middle East priorities should be—after Baghdad.

Road Map to Nowhere

In winning decisively in parliament on the vote for war on Iraq, Tony Blair pacified rebellious Labourites by telling them he and Bush were now united, not only on liberating Iraq, but on doing justice to the Palestinians. President Bush has signed on to the "road map" for peace, said Blair, referring to the step-by-step plan to erect a viable Palestinian state. Even more important than Blair is Colin Powell. He, too, is now fully committed to the "road map," where the U.S., EU, UN, and Russia pressure Israel and the Palestinians to take parallel steps to permanent peace by 2005. Consider this excerpt from a recent *Washington Times* story about a clash between British Foreign Secretary Jack Straw and Ariel Sharon over Israel's non-compliance with UN resolutions.

"Secretary Powell also entered the fray, telling a newspaper columnist this week that Mr. Bush will push Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon hard on a Middle East peace plan once its war in Iraq is over.

"He [Sharon] understands that the

whole world is going to be looking to him to do something about the Middle East once Iraq has been dealt with,' Mr. Powell told a columnist for the *Washington Post*.

"Mr. Powell was asked who besides him in the Bush administration 'favored a plan that would mean going to the mat with Sharon.'

"The President,' Mr. Powell replied, 'I just left him 30 minutes ago, and we talked about it.'"

While I do not doubt the sincerity of Secretary Powell, he underestimates the forces in this city determined to rip up what they deride as the "road map to nowhere." If Powell believes President Bush is going to the mat with Ariel Sharon in an election cycle, he is dreaming.

George W. Bush knows what happened to his father. When Bush I, after his triumph in the Gulf War, asked Congress for a brief delay in granting \$10 billion in loan guarantees to Israel, until Yitzhak Shamir agreed not to use the money for new settlements, he was denounced as an anti-Semite by a member of the Israeli Cabinet and excoriated by the Israeli Lobby and its media allies. The political damage done to him helped to cost George H. W. Bush his presidency.

George W. knows that. Karl Rove knows that. And they know, better than Colin Powell, the forces that will be marshaled against them if they do what Powell has committed President Bush to do, i.e., go to the mat with Ariel Sharon over the West Bank settlements.

First, there will be fierce resistance in the President's own War Cabinet. Neither Cheney nor Rumsfeld, who calls the West Bank "so-called occupied territory," believes in pressuring Israel. Nor do the neoconservatives Paul Wolfowitz and Douglas Feith at Defense. Nor does Elliot Abrams of the NSC, who holds the Middle East portfolio at the White House. The affection of these gentlemen for the Oslo Accords, for which assassi-

nated Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin won a Nobel Prize, is roughly the same as that of Hamas.

They will fight to kill the road map. And if Sharon, under pressure, charges the Bush administration, as he has before, of plotting a "Munich" at the expense of Israel by forcing him to yield land to terrorists, his cause will be taken up by the Israeli Lobby, neoconservative columnists, Evangelical Christians, House Republicans, and the leadership and presidential candidates of a Democratic Party that will see this as an opportunity to drive a wedge between Bush and his new enthusiasts in the Jewish community. Finally, there is no hard evidence Bush himself believes that deeply in the road map or is willing to pay the hellish price he would have to pay to impose it upon Ariel Sharon.

James Baker, Secretary of State for Bush I, believes that an Arab-Israeli peace conference should be called immediately after the war in Iraq to demand implementation of the road map. Others believe U.S. pressure on Israel, to conclude a peace in the Middle East close to the Camp David and Taba plans, is a

A collision between Blair and Bush over pressuring Israel to adhere to the road map is ahead, as is a battle royal inside the War Cabinet between Powell and Cheney-Rumsfeld. Blair and Powell will lose, which could rupture the Anglo-American alliance and split the Bush cabinet as well.

The Turks

Americans are enraged today at the French and the Germans. But there is special anguish over the Turks. By denying their old friend and ally access to their territory to open a northern front, the Turks terribly undercut U.S. war strategy. This war will last longer and more U.S. lives will be lost because they said no.

Why did Turkey do it? We came to her aid with the Truman Doctrine, when Turkey was a target of Soviet encroachments. We fought together in Korea. We defended her for 40 years of Cold War. We have championed her admission to the European Union. We alone have understood the Turkish position on Cyprus. We have thrown over our free-

A COLLISION BETWEEN BLAIR AND BUSH OVER PRESSURING ISRAEL TO ADHERE TO THE ROAD MAP IS AHEAD, AS IS A BATTLE ROYAL INSIDE THE WAR CABINET BETWEEN POWELL AND CHENEY-RUMSFELD.

vital national interest. But Sharon and his right-wing regime reject this idea utterly and were elected to resist such a peace.

Should President Bush try to make good on his commitment to Blair and on Powell's commitment of his prestige and authority, Karl Rove will be in his office with a simple message: "Mr. President, given the opposition here and in Israel, this cannot be done. Push it, and you risk your re-election."

market principles to lead repeated IMF bailouts of Ankara. And we had put on the table offers as high as \$28 billion in aid and loan guarantees if only the Turks would let us use their territory to open a northern front. Why did the Turks rebuff us?

For the same reason Israelis do when we demand an end to the building of settlements. To us these are unimportant matters. In their eyes, they are matters of vital interest.

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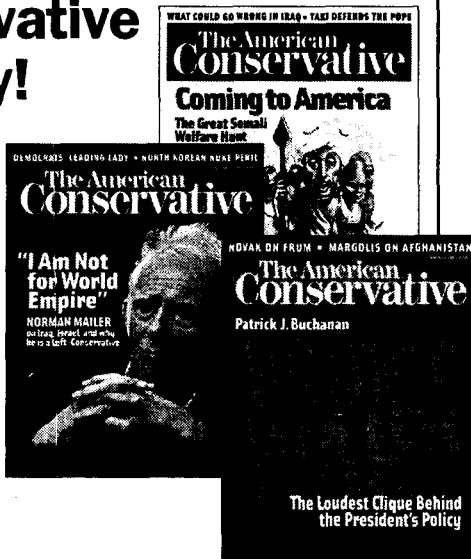
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Turkey feared that if the United States put an army into northern Iraq, that army would quickly drive Saddam's army out of Kirkuk and Mosul on the way to Baghdad. But as Saddam's army fled, the Kurds would occupy Kirkuk and Mosul, seize the oil fields, and declare a Kurdish state. As the our country was born of a rebellion against a tyrant, America—the Turks know—could not crush a Kurdish rebellion against a Baghdad regime that has been far more tyrannical than George III. The Turks believed that permitting a U.S. army to enter and occupy northern Iraq could lead to a Kurdish state on their southern border that would be a magnet for the huge restive Kurdish population inside their own country. This could threaten a breakup of Turkey, and Turks felt they could not trust U.S. promises to repress a Kurdish independence movement.

And they have a point. How many Americans would support U.S. military suppression of a declaration of independence by Kurds who had fought and bled beside us in a war to liberate Iraq?

Believing an independent Kurdistan to be a mortal threat to the unity and territorial integrity of their country, Turks are determined not to let the Kurds take over the oil fields that could make a Kurdistan a viable state.

To prevent it, Turkey is prepared to invade. And if they have to invade, they would prefer not to collide with an American army. That is why the Turks were willing to pay the political and economic price for back-handing their old friend the United States.

As was true throughout the twentieth century, America's problems arise not with the onset of war, but with the armistice and the onset of "peace," which all too often has simply prepared the ground for the next war. With victory and the occupation of Iraq by American troops, our time of troubles in the region does not end. It will have only just begun. ■

Burnham & the Bodysnatchers

Though claimed by the neocons, *National Review's* giant would not take their side.

By Chilton Williamson Jr.

JAMES BURNHAM (1905-1987) was by all odds the dominating intellectual presence at *National Review* from the magazine's founding in 1955 until his mental incapacitation by a stroke in the fall of 1978. Therefore, it is unsurprising to find the neoconservatives, who appropriated *NR* (along with the rest of the conservative political-intellectual establishment in the 1980s and '90s), attempting to claim Burnham for their own.

Daniel Kelly, in *James Burnham and the Struggle for the World: A Life*, argues, "[D]espite the differences on particular issues, [Burnham's] general stance—secular, empirical, modernist, resigned to the welfare state as inevitable in a mass industrial society, emphatic on the need for victory in the struggle for the world—afforded a preview of the neo-conservatism of the 1970s." In a foreword to the biography, Richard Brookhiser—a *National Review* senior editor who as a pup in the mid-'70s can scarcely be said to have "known" Jim Burnham—endorses Kelly's claim. The ghost of James Burnham has obvious uses for a journalistic fraternity seeking to rewrite American intellectual and political history and justify a war by claiming the imprimatur of a major Cold War intellectual and historical philosopher. But was James Burnham truly a forerunner of neoconservatism? And would he really be on Sunday morning television, an elder statesman who knew Trotsky personally, arguing alongside Bill Kristol and Richard Perle that the security of America depends on the political, social, and economic transformation of the Cradle of Civilization?

Samuel Francis has included more than enough argument and evidence in his monograph *Thinkers of Our Time: James Burnham* and also in "Burnham Agonistes" (*Chronicles*, July 2002) to explode Proposition One. "To anyone at all familiar with Burnham's writing and thought," Francis says, "the ... thesis that Burnham approximated neoconservatism in the '70s is simply preposterous; Mr. Kelly is able to sustain this claim only by blatantly skimming over, dismissing, or simply ignoring most of Burnham's writings that do not fit the neoconservative 'foreshadowing' on which he insists."

Thus, Kelly gives short shrift to Burnham's *Congress and the American Tradition* (in which the author tilts against the neoconservative predilection for foreign-policy-making by the executive branch) and concentrates on his anti-communist books instead. Francis also

on Berger's complaint against what he perceived to be the "selective humanism" of conservatives, Burnham retorted that the word "humanism" is a part of the abstract habit of thought that leads rationalist liberals to think in terms of "Man" rather than of "men" and to "deduce [their] universalistic imperatives and ... equalitarian tendencies." Selectivity is an inherent part of conservatism, Burnham argued. All conservatives are tribal. "In real life men are joined on a much less than universal scale into a variety of groupings—family, community, church, business, club, party, etc.—which on the political scale reach the maximum significant limit in the nation." Far from being an enthusiast for what today is called "diversity," Burnham even defended racial segregation on constitutional grounds in the 1950s and '60s. As for the Third World, James Burnham

BURNHAM CHARGED THE NEOCONS WITH HAVING RETAINED "THE EMOTIONAL GESTALT OF LIBERALISM, THE LIBERAL SENSITIVITY AND TEMPERAMENT."

points to Burnham's aversion for the New York intellectual circle that developed neoconservatism in the first place, citing his savage review of Norman Podhoretz's *Making It* in 1968, his distaste for *Commentary* and the *Public Interest*, and his exchange with Peter Berger in *National Review*, where in 1972 Burnham charged the neocons with having retained "the emotional gestalt of liberalism, the liberal sensitivity and temperament." Homing in

regarded the population explosion and political activation there to be one of three chief threats to the United States, the other two being the encroachment of "the jungle" at home and the Communist drive for world domination abroad.

Clearly, such views make it difficult to treat Burnham as a premature neoconservative. The fact remains that Burnham was, indisputably, an internationalist, an interventionist, and—in

some degree at least—an imperialist. It is not entirely fanciful, therefore, to argue that, following the abrupt collapse of the Soviet Union and its own empire in 1989, Jim Burnham would have sympathized with George H. W. Bush's vision of a New World Order, Charles Krauthammer's and Joshua Muravchik's dream of a global democratic-capitalist system, William Kristol's National Greatness Conservatism, George W. Bush's war on Iraq, Norman Podhoretz's "World War IV," and their subsequent program of nation-building in the Middle East.

A passage in *Suicide of the West* (first published in 1964) appears to support the claims of both the traditional and the neoconservative camps to have a stake in James Burnham. "Quite specifically," Burnham writes, "[what the West needs is] the preliberal conviction that Western civilization, thus Western man, is both different from and superior in quality to other civilizations and noncivilizations ... [Also it requires] a renewed willingness, legitimized by that conviction, to use superior power and the threat of power to defend the West against all challenges and challengers."

BURNHAM REGARDED THE NATION-STATE AS "THE MAXIMUM SIGNIFICANT LIMIT" IN HUMAN GROUPINGS.

The first of these two sentences is patently one no neoconservative could ever write. Neoconservatives do not believe Western civilization to be—intellectually, culturally, and above all, perhaps, religiously speaking—different from and superior to all other civilizations and noncivilizations, its democratic and capitalistic features excepted. Because neocons do not regard these advantages as being culturally specific but rather latently universal attributes,

they must be considered accidental rather than inherent virtues for which the West is not entitled to take credit, apart from its willingness to "export" them to (i.e., impose them upon) the rest of the world. Neoconservatives believe that the necessary effect of imposing democratic capitalism globally would be the eventual erasure of those culturally specific attributes it is prepared to recognize, while intensely disliking. It is equally true that James Burnham's anti-communist and anti-globalist thought was founded on an appreciation of what he called the "variety of groupings" characteristic of the human race from time immemorial. According to Francis, Burnham's "rejection of universalism and his defense of cultural and national particularity and variety sharply distinguish his thought from the [universalistic social democratic] ideas at the root of 'exporting democracy' as well as of communism." For Burnham, the ideal of a democratic world order was nothing in the world but purest liberalism. He is explicit about this in *Suicide* when he writes, "Modern liberal doctrine tends naturally toward internationalist conceptions and the ideal of a democratic

world order based through one mode or another on the majority will of all mankind. ... To the liberal it has become self-evident that 'national sovereignty is an outworn concept' that must be drastically modified if not altogether abandoned."

So far, the traditionalist understanding of James Burnham seems to be winning out over the neoconservative one. We turn now to the second sentence in the paragraph in question, in which Burnham

endorses the use of "superior power and the threat of power to defend the West against all challenges and challengers"—a phrase that might have been scripted by George W. Bush's foreign policy advisors (except that they would have substituted "democracy" for "the West") and does, indeed, have the familiar neocon ring.

Understood in both the historical and intellectual contexts, however, the defensive Cold World militancy Burnham's words connote is drastically different both in nature and in purpose from the imperialist kind advocated by American hegemonists. James Burnham, to begin with, was an internationalist, not a globalist—a distinction he insisted upon. (He never believed the United States could, or should, pursue an isolationist course since modern technology, communications, and the organization of modern trade and industry made isolationism not only impractical but also impossible.) Internationalism means the co-operative interaction of sovereign states ruling over distinct peoples, not the consolidation of many governments into a centralized bureaucratic behemoth enforcing its will upon a single, forcibly homogeneous population. Burnham, as we have seen, regarded the nation-state as "the maximum significant limit" in human groupings, the final collective expression of human nature and human reality. His concern was for the survival of the United States and of the West from which it was inseparable—not for the welfare of the world. To that end, he wished the lesser civilizations and all uncivilized societies to be controlled, when and where necessary, in the West's interest: controlled, not reformed in the Western image, since Burnham never suspected most, if any, non-Western societies of having the capacity to Westernize themselves in any significant degree. For him, Western survival and indeed revival was the proper and necessary goal of American foreign policy and that of its European allies; yet

the survivalist instinct was continually being confused, and often negated, by the moralistic and ideological tendencies endemic to liberalism—and now to neo-conservatism, which is a variation on liberalism. Moreover, though Burnham worked for the preservation (though not the exportation) of Western civilization, there is absolutely no evidence that he, a polished gentleman and even an aristocrat, considered consumer capitalism and mass culture to be among its glories. Also unlike the neoconservatives, Burnham did not believe the Founding Fathers to have shared the optimism of the European Enlightenment in respect of the liberal doctrine of perfectible human nature. Instead, he thought John Adams to have spoken for his colleagues when he wrote that “human passions are insatiable”; that “self-interest, private avidity, ambition and avarice will exist in every state of society and under every form of government”; and that “reason, justice and equity never had weight enough on the face of the earth to govern the councils of men.”

Finally, James Burnham cultivated the tragic view of history, one that separates him by a vast divide from the shallow triumphalism and naïve neo-Wilsonian moralism neoconservatives displayed in their clamor for war against Iraq and on other occasions. (Essentially a neutralist on the Middle Eastern situation, Burnham, who before and after the Six Day War urged that Washington adopt a less biased diplomatic stance in that region, would probably not be swayed by any alleged threat to Israel but rather continue to insist that the Middle East is “one jungle American troops should stay out of.”) Far from believing that the United States and the West must and will prevail against all challenges and challengers, he seems to have expected the U.S., and with it the Western world, to *degrade itself to something less than the West*—and thus to perish. Burnham was a realist rather than an optimist, a

thinker not a careerist. He never told you what he thought you wanted to hear, or what should make him influential, powerful, and wealthy to say. Instead, he gave you the truth as he saw it and went on to write another book.

Yet Burnham was not without the theological virtue of hope. Baptized a Catholic, he returned to the Church only on his deathbed. But he was never,

beyond his Trotskyite period at least, a determinist. “The past is determined,” he wrote in the epilogue to the reprint edition of *Suicide of the West*, “but, for human beings, the future is free. It is too early to publish the West’s obituary.” ■

Chilton Williamson Jr. is Senior Editor for Books at Chronicles. He is also an editor and contributor for VDARE.com.

Bring Back Nails

Restoring muscular Catholicism

By Mark Gauvreau Judge

“NAILS” WAS CORNELIUS Aloysius Herlihy, a Jesuit who taught my dad at Gonzaga, the all-boys prep school in Washington that gave the world both Pat Buchanan and William Bennett. Herlihy, nicknamed “Nails” for his bulldog toughness, reigned in the 1940s and died in the 1960s, but we need to resurrect him if the Catholic Church—my church—has any hope of surviving in the new century.

Nails came to mind recently when I saw a survey about the state of Catholic education in America. The survey, conducted by the Higher Education Research Institute (HERI), found that many Catholic universities actually make their students less Catholic. In 1997, 45 percent of freshman at Catholic colleges supported abortion. Four years later, the same students were 57 percent in favor of abortion. They also went from 55 to 71 percent in favor of gay marriage, and approval of casual sex shot from 30 to 49 percent. Two-thirds of the incoming class attended Mass regularly. By senior year, 13 percent stopped attending services altogether, and nine percent stopped being Catholic. Last year, dozens of

Catholic universities allowed “The Vagina Monologues”—not exactly “The Bells of St. Mary’s”—to be performed on their campuses.

This kind of thing would have been unheard of before Vatican II (1962-65), the Council that intended to introduce reforms into the Church but was hijacked by liberals. The Left feminized the Church, introducing altar girls, calling for the ordination of female priests, and dumping the old-school creed for proto-Oprah therapy.

Before Vatican II, Catholicism in America was robust, thriving, and tough. A typical figure was Nails. In the 1940s, when my dad was a student at Gonzaga, Nails was more feared than Hitler. He had broken every knuckle playing football on a glass-strewn lot near the Washington slum where he grew up and could silence a room of 100 rowdy teenage boys simply by appearing in the doorway. He kept a starter gun in his desk and once fired it at a tardy student who didn’t know the thing had blanks. He would literally pick kids up by their collars when they were caught running down stairs

and could kick a football over the three-story school building. My personal favorite tale was when some communists were trying to sucker some of the students on the sidewalk in front of the school by handing them leaflets and carrying signs. Nails grabbed a shotgun and, under the pretense of vermin control, burst open the school door, glared at the commies and bellowed, "So where are all the rats?" Nails is long gone, and my Church is in serious trouble.

The seed of this rot is largely due to the failure of Catholic education since the 1960s. I have spent more than half of my life in Catholic schools, starting with first grade, going through Georgetown Prep—Gonzaga's rival—in the early 1980s, and ending up at Catholic University in Washington. My education never required that I read a word by the great Catholic intellectuals of the early 20th century—G.K. Chesterton, Hilaire Belloc, Christopher Dawson, Frank Sheed, Henri de Lubac,

This was in 1983. That same year Pope John Paul II was offering his own sexual education. He was in the middle of what would be 129 general audience addresses on human sexuality—what would become known as the Theology of the Body. This was revolutionary stuff, an update and elaboration of *Humanae Vitae*, the 1968 encyclical that rejected contraception and drove many Catholics to rebel. The Theology of the Body announced a central paradox that the modern world never got: to Christians, sexuality is of far greater importance than a swinging modernist like Mr. Ward could ever understand. Conjugal love between a man and his wife was nothing less than an icon of the interior life of God, a holy form of self-giving not to be treated lightly.

My teachers at Prep either didn't know or didn't care about any of this. Many were still hung over from the 1960s and preferred worshiping the Imperial

of his grades and notebooks from those years, and they reveal a distinctly intellectual Catholic curriculum. At Blessed Sacrament they memorized the famous (at least in old-school Catholic circles) Baltimore Catechism, which was authorized in 1884 in the Third Plenary Council and drew heavily on a 1777 Irish Catechism, which itself had been inspired by the Council of Trent. "The basic Baltimore Catechism helped form several generations of Catholics in this country during a period when the Catholic faith was most vital and vibrant in the lives of those who professed and tried to live it," observed Msgr. Michael J. Wrenn in his book *Catechism and Controversies*.

At Gonzaga, when my dad wasn't hiding from Nails, he was required to study Latin, Greek, Western History (although it was just known as History in those benighted times), and Religion. They learned of Thomas Aquinas, the intellectual father of the Church, as well as Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits. They read the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Mass was required, as was a prayer before every class, and there were three hours of homework at night. By the time he was a senior, Dad could read Latin fluently. He knew the two cities of Western culture, Athens and Jerusalem, and as editor of the newspaper at Catholic University sprinkled his editorials with classical references that he was sure the student body would understand.

At Prep, I learned about the female body, found that I could create my own theological system, and learned about life in English class by reading *The Catcher in the Rye*. Nails would have thought Holden Caulfield was a wimp. And he would have been right. ■

Mark Gauvreau Judge is the author of Damn Senators: My Grandfather and the Story of Washington's Only World Series Championship and If It Ain't Got That Swing.

ALL THROUGH GEORGETOWN PREP I NEVER READ A WORD BY OR ABOUT IGNATIUS LOYOLA, THE FOUNDER OF THE JESUITS.

the Swiss giant Hans Urs Von Balthasar—or even John Paul II. All through Georgetown Prep—one of the best Catholic schools according to its reputation—I never read a word by or about Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits.

I did, however, read *The Road Less Traveled*, that dreadful piece of self-esteem viagra by M. Scott Peck. It was required reading in the sex education class I took at Georgetown Prep 20 years ago. This was the class taught by Bernie Ward, who is now a left-wing radio show host in San Francisco and occasional foil for Sean Hannity. I will never forget that class, complete with the usual graphic, unromantic descriptions of the human body—the kind of soul-crushing stuff available in any public school.

Self to the Holy Spirit. One man, a priest who taught ethics, came out of the closet shortly after I graduated and is now living in San Francisco with a former student, a kid who graduated a year after me. Most of my teachers were openly hostile to the pope and traditional elements in the Church. They were a sharp contrast to the older Jesuits, men of fidelity, strength, and faith. One who stands tall in my memory was just five feet and about 120 pounds. He taught Latin and would actually weep when he told us about the passion of Christ.

I would have been better off in those dark days before Vatican II. My father went to Washington's best Catholic schools: Blessed Sacrament, Gonzaga, and Catholic University. He saved some

[can i touch you here?]

Defining Date Rape Down

Far from protecting women, campus feminists are creating a new generation of victims.

By Anne Hendershott

EVEN DURING THE MOST contentious moments of the culture wars over sex, there was a time, not so long ago, when we could rely upon one area of agreement: the deviance of rape. There was consensus that rape is an outrage that cannot be tolerated in civilized society—a serious violation of the dignity of an individual, uniquely horrible in the trauma it inflicts and the long-term consequences it carries.

Yet, for the past decade, a powerful element within the feminist community has waged a moral crusade to expand the boundaries of violence against women, and by doing so has called basic definitions into question. The process began slowly with a gradual expansion of the use and eventually the meaning of the word “rape.” Some feminists began using the word to refer to acts that are not even related to sexual activity but to power. Feminist legal scholar and anti-pornography activist Catherine MacKinnon, for instance, has long concluded that depictions of sex through pornography are equivalent to rape. And when a reviewer wrote a negative evaluation of her book, she accused him of rape.

Most of us dismiss talk of “rape by paragraph”—or the even stranger assertion by MacKinnon’s colleague Andrea Dworkin that even consensual heterosexual sex is “rape”—as mere hyperbole.

Of course rape has to some degree always been used as a metaphor, but it has come to have decidedly nonmetaphorical consequences on many college campuses. In fact, on some of the most elite colleges and universities, the line between the metaphorical and the literal has disappeared as allegations of rape can now be made following any unpleasant, awkward, or regrettable sexual encounter. The rapist is any male who participates in these encounters. And being found guilty of a metaphorical offense carries real consequences, as male students are increasingly being charged with rape when a date goes badly.

It is important to understand how it happened that men at Bates, Harvard, Columbia, Yale, Dartmouth, Villanova,

uses are now redefining themselves as helpless victims, powerless to prevent someone they know from taking advantage of them.

Most recently, the Air Force Academy has been caught up in the moral panic surrounding date rape as a number of former female cadets claim that the Air Force Academy administration “mishandled” their complaints. While the commandant denied that sexual misconduct goes unpunished at the Academy, the female cadets interviewed on television’s “20/20” tearfully recounted that their “rapists” were allowed to “walk free.”

Although national data indicate that more than 75 percent of what were originally regrettable sexual experiences were not initially defined as rape,

THE LINE BETWEEN THE **METAPHORICAL** AND THE **LITERAL** HAS DISAPPEARED AS **ALLEGATIONS OF RAPE** CAN NOW BE MADE FOLLOWING ANY **UNPLEASANT, AWKWARD, OR REGRETTABLE** SEXUAL ENCOUNTER

Antioch, Notre Dame, and a growing number of other campuses have found themselves guilty of this new form of deviance. And, even more important, how smart and once strong and independent women on these same cam-

women are increasingly encouraged to redefine these encounters after a meeting with an enlightened friend, dorm advisor, or “crisis intervention” counselor. Feminist advocates have successfully convinced a growing number of

young female college students that before they have sex with a man, they must give consent as explicit as a Miranda warning. And a growing number of young women have been persuaded that when such stipulations do not formally occur—as they rarely do in moments of passion—then they too have been the victims of rape. In response, they are demanding that the perpetrators be punished.

The *Chronicle of Higher Education* reported on a panicked campus response in 1996, when 300 angry Bates College

rape that semester had reported the incidents to the police. Yet, this did not stop the administrators and student representatives who comprised the college judiciary board from convicting the students. During the judicial proceedings, the accused were not permitted to have lawyers at the hearings, nor were they allowed to call witnesses to testify on their behalf.

Feminists insist that there is no distinction between the aggression associated with violent stranger rape and the quite different context of most date

charged have been punished. The Academy commandant, Brig. Gen. Taco Gilbert, defended the school's conduct in a written response to questions about one alleged assault, in which a female cadet said she was raped after a night of drinking and a strip-poker game. After a hearing, the Academy decided not to press charges against her attacker, and the cadet said Gilbert criticized her conduct. Dorothy Mackey, a former Air Force commander who now runs an advocacy group, Survivors Take Action Against Abuse by Military Personnel, claims that "These types of abuses are becoming normalized."

Mackey is part of an advocacy community that has fueled this new sexual hysteria by creating a date-rape industry complete with "spokespersons" for the "survivors." A popular lecturer on the date-rape college circuit is Katie Koestner, a self-described "date-rape survivor" who claims to have visited more than 800 campuses to warn female students of what lies in wait for them. Weaving advocacy data with graphic descriptions of her own traumatic experience of being date raped during her first year at the College of William & Mary, Koestner claims that in the United States, 1.3 women are raped every minute. In her lectures, she testifies that her "life was forever changed" during the fall of her freshman year when, after going out with a male student named "Peter," she invited him back to her dorm room with "intentions of dancing." By Koestner's account, as recorded in Notre Dame's student newspaper, the *Observer*, "Tickling and teasing transpired into a wrestling match that night that left her on the floor pinned under Peter, with him holding her hands above her head by her wrists and kissing her even though she said 'no.'" Koestner admits spending the night with Peter in her room after this incident and acknowledges on some campuses (as reported in

BOARDS DELIBERATE IN SECRET, PROVIDE NO EXPLANATION OF THEIR DECISIONS, AND ASSIGN PUNISHMENT WITHOUT REGARD TO ANY UNIFORM SENTENCING CODE.

students gathered outside the home of President Donald W. Harward to demand that he confront a growing menace on their campus in Lewiston, Maine. Anxious that the crowd was getting out of control—one witness compared it to a "lynch mob"—local and state police were summoned. Chanting the names of the "evildoers" on campus, the protesters claimed that if the college had acted sooner, it could have stopped the raping of innocent female students.

Fearful for his life, one of the alleged date-rapists fled Bates on the night of the protest and immediately withdrew from the college. The hostile mob demanded that other offenders be similarly cast out. In response, college administrators took quick action—expelling one freshman, after finding him guilty of raping a female student and twice sexually assaulting another, and suspending a senior who had been accused of raping his ex-girlfriend, forbidding him to graduate with his class.

None of the women in the Bates cases who had filed complaints about date

rapes. But there are differences, and as most of the campus date-rape cases suggest, the most disturbing is that in most cases, the violent stranger rapist would have more legal rights and due process than the campus "date rapist." On most college campuses, an accused person has no right to confront his accuser, examine witnesses, or have an attorney present during university proceedings. Instead, the "crime" is defined, judged, and punished by campus student affairs judicial boards. These boards deliberate in secret, provide no explanation of their decisions, and assign punishment without regard to any uniform sentencing code.

The judicial proceedings at the Air Force Academy are quite different, however, as alleged perpetrators are provided with due process—and the cases are heard by a judicial board that is truly representative. As a result of this process, feminists are enraged that those they have identified as "rapists" have not all been found "guilty" by the boards and only about half of those

campus newspapers) bringing Peter back to her room after lunch the next day where he allegedly raped her again.

Koestner has been a popular speaker on the campus circuit for several years. Yet, she met some resistance at Harvard recently when she called upon the men in the audience to stand up and declare their support for women in their fight against rape. Although many of the males in the audience obliged, some of Harvard's female students were offended that Koestner's focus on men took power out of their own hands. One of them was quoted in the *Harvard Crimson* as saying, "I thought her view of men as the only agents of change undermined her point, and just wasn't true." Another female student also objected to the focus on men: "I was deeply offended, I wondered if all the women in the audience should give up the fight."

This response points to the real problem with the expanded definition of rape: it creates female children unable to stand up for themselves and in need of protection by the kind of men who attend date-rape lectures or by the emerging sex codes created by campus feminists. Watching the crying cadets on "20/20," it was difficult not to be relieved that these women have since left the Academy and will no longer be eligible to lead others in battle.

Cultural critic Camile Paglia has written persuasively of the moral panic surrounding date rape and describes it as a "catastrophic cosmic event like an asteroid threatening the earth in a fifties science fiction film." Commenting on the furor created by Brown University women when they posted names of alleged rapists in the toilet stalls, Paglia says the media completely missed the real story: "Why were squalid toilets now the forum for self expression by supposed future leaders?" Paglia believes that the "fantastic fetishism of rape by mainstream and anti-porn feminists has,

in the end, trivialized rape, impugned women's credibility, and reduced the sympathy we should feel for legitimate victims of violent sexual assault."

Paglia knows, as most strong and independent women do, that when a real rape occurs, the woman should report it to the real police, not campus committees. Complaining that the real courts take too long or are "too cold and impersonal," is a pretext. Last spring, Harvard moved all of its date-rape investigations and prosecutions off campus. Students must now report rapes to the police to be adjudicated by the real courts, and cases will no longer be handled through campus judicial proceedings where the rights of males are always trumped by the hysteria of the females on campus.

Still, campuses continue to canonize the "rape survivors" who, instead of delivering a message of strength, remind women of their fragility and vulnerabil-

"too caught up" in the lie to confess. During the early days of the rape allegation, Robb received all the rewards that accompany victimhood, as campus feminists rallied to her side, held demonstrations to warn other students, and demanded that prosecutors find the perpetrators. Robb briefly became a campus heroine, widely praised for her "courage" in coming forward to face the horrible crime. By the time she admitted to lying, the story had spun into a criminal case that wasted investigators' time and thousands of dollars in taxpayer money, while spreading alarm among other female students. At the conclusion of the trial, as Robb's feminist supporters disappeared, a judge sentenced her to 18 months of probation, psychiatric treatment, and 100 hours of community service.

It is difficult to predict where the politics of date rape will lead us. While the panic has diminished on some cam-

WATCHING THE CRYING CADETS ON "20/20," IT WAS DIFFICULT NOT TO BE RELIEVED THAT THESE WOMEN HAVE SINCE LEFT THE ACADEMY AND WILL NO LONGER BE ELIGIBLE TO LEAD OTHERS IN BATTLE.

ity. And as long as rape victims are venerated on college campuses, it should not surprise anyone that allegations of rape continue to increase—and that the cases increasingly involve confabulation.

The most recent rape fabrication was quietly revealed at Iowa State University when Katharine Robb, a second-year student, finally disclosed that the story she had told her sorority sister—of being forced into a car at gunpoint by four black men and raped in a wooded area—was untrue. The sorority's president reported the story to the police without Robb's knowledge, and by then, the co-ed later acknowledged, she was

puses, others still hold on to their annual "Take Back the Night" rituals and demand that campus courts punish perpetrators. The hysteria surrounding the allegations at the U. S. Air Force Academy indicate that the panic remains and will continue to flourish as long as colleges continue to expand their crisis intervention services and "date-rape hotlines" and welcome speakers from the date-rape industry.

Anne Hendershott is Professor of Sociology at the University of San Diego and the author of the recently released book, The Politics of Deviance (Encounter Books).

An Islamist Nuke?

With the focus on Iraq, no one's watching Pakistan.

By Arnaud de Borchgrave

A PAKISTANI NUCLEAR MISSILE can now hit Tel Aviv, according to a former Pakistani intelligence chief who is "strategic adviser" to his country's Islamist politico-religious parties.

Gen. Hamid Gul, the retired head of the Inter-Services Intelligence agency, in his latest well-publicized (in Pakistan) statement, says, "we have the nuclear capability that can destroy Madras (India), surely the same missile can do the same to Tel Aviv. Washington cannot stop Muslim suicidal attacks. Taliban are still alive and along with 'friends' they will continue the holy *jihād* against the U.S. America will destroy Iraq and later on repeat the same act of war against Pakistan, Iran, Syria and Saudi Arabia."

A coalition of six extremist religious parties, MMA, now governs two of Pakistan's four provinces—a direct result of the free elections the United States insisted be held after President Pervez Musharraf endorsed the Bush administration's war on terror. MMA leader and newly elected senator Sami ul-Haq has also declared *jihād* against the United States and Israel. "If the U.S. attacks Iraq, the MMA alliance and all their supporters will attack Washington and Tel Aviv," he said.

Another redoubtable MMA leader, Fazlur Rehman, said, for his part, "the U.S. better take seriously the consequences of its attack against Iraq because we are fully capable of taking revenge." Arguably the most powerful extremist religious leader, Qazi Hussain Ahmed, head of Jamat-e-Islami, warned president Bush he "will suffer the horrible

punishment of God."

Pakistan possesses between 35 and 60 nuclear weapons with the missile capability (obtained from North Korea) to deliver them. The nuclear arsenal is designed as a deterrent to India's older nuclear capability. India conducted its first nuclear tests in 1974. This was the first time an influential Pakistani, well known for his visceral hatred of the United States and Israel, had mentioned another nation besides India as a possible target for Pakistani nukes.

A number of Pakistani generals are Islamist fundamentalists and resent President Musharraf's close alliance with the United States. It was a "shotgun

PAKISTAN POSSESSES BETWEEN 35 AND 60 NUCLEAR WEAPONS WITH THE MISSILE CAPABILITY TO DELIVER THEM.

wedding," some of them have said. Musharraf had no choice when Bush called him the day after 9/11 and asked him whether he could count on him to pursue the new war against the Taliban and al-Qaeda. Musharraf made a quick command decision, broke with the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, and gave the United States the use of several bases for Operation Enduring Freedom.

The all-powerful ISI's culture has long been anti-American, dating back to 1989 when the Soviets pulled out of Afghanistan and the United States began punishing Pakistan for its secret nuclear buildup. Ever since the collapse of the Taliban in November 2001, ISI officers

have spread the word among the tribal chiefs along their ill-defined Pakistani-Afghan border that "America will be coming after Pakistan's nuclear arsenal as soon as they have finished with Afghanistan."

How safe is Pakistan's nuclear arsenal? Shortly after 9/11, Musharraf ordered the country's nuclear weapons to be detached from their launchers and stored in six different secret locations with fail-safe security systems. But Musharraf has survived six assassination plots since 9/11, and the CIA is clearly concerned about the very real possibility that an Islamist general could take over one day—and acquire control of the arsenal.

Pakistan has carefully refrained from signing the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. Nor is it committed to the non-first-use doctrine. India and Pakistan pulled back last summer from a face-off between one million troops. There is little doubt if India were to humiliate Pakistan militarily over the

long-standing Kashmir dispute, Pakistan would retaliate with a nuclear salvo. Senior Indian national security officials accept this possibility with equanimity. In fact, one of them, speaking privately a month ago, said, "we could easily survive one or two nuclear hits, but when we retaliate Pakistan would disappear from the map."

The North Korean crisis has been adjudged by Secretary of State Colin Powell as "not a crisis." Pakistan, in that perspective, is even less of a crisis. ■

Arnaud de Borchgrave is editor at large of *United Press International*.

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Arts & Letters

FILM

[*Bend It Like Beckham*]

My Big Fat Sikh Heading

By Steve Sailer

"BEND IT LIKE BECKHAM" is a well-executed, crowd-pleasing comedy that earned more money in Britain than any all-British film ever. It's the story of a teenage Indian Sikh girl who would rather head soccer balls into the goal than play a role in her big sister's marriage ceremony. Call it "My Big Fat Sikh Heading."

While Jesminder's parents plan their older daughter's elaborate wedding, they hope her test results will allow her to attend an elite college and become a doctor or solicitor. But she'd rather boot bending shots like her hero David Beckham (the soccer superstar better known in America for being Mr. Posh Spice). According to her mother, she is ruining her marriage prospects by showing her bare legs and, perhaps worse, letting them tan disgracefully dark.

American immigrant teen movies, like last year's Mexican-American "Real Women Have Curves," typically ask whether the daughter should stay close to her working class family or pursue higher education. In "Beckham," though, the class angle is reversed, which almost all U.S. critics have missed.

The American upper-middle class views soccer as a classy sport for their kids because Europeans play it and Europe is a classy place. Here, in fact, girls' soccer is even more upscale than

boys' soccer because most female athletes come from intact two-parent homes where the father pushes his daughter into sports, often because he lacks a son to live out his athletic ambitions. Ambitious American parents see organized athletics as a good way to distract their daughters from getting pregnant and marrying some loser when they should be finishing college.

In England, though, soccer traditionally has been the sport of louts, thugs, and yobbos. In Tony Blair's vulgarized Cool Britannia, everybody is supposed to love soccer. Yet, Jesminder's Mercedes-driving family, like so many of Britain's Sikhs and Hindus (but unlike its resentful and rioting Pakistani Muslim proles), is staunchly bourgeois. Jesminder's father played cricket, not soccer. To her parents, soccer is a dangerous step down the social ladder toward England's increasingly disorderly white working class.

For a low-budget foreign film with an incomprehensible title, "Bend It Like Beckham" should do particularly well in America because its basic presumption—the wonderfulness of women's soccer—is more American than European.

The film wants to launch in England one of the funnier American fads: those periodic whoop-tee-dos where we all swell up with national pride over an American women's team winning gold in some sport played by the women of practically no other county, except maybe Norway.

Think back to the ecstasy over the first Women's World Cup of soccer. We'd beaten the world! When cynics pointed out that the world didn't much care about women's soccer, well, that just made us even prouder of how liberated our women are, compared to those poor, oppressed women of Paris, Milan, and London, whose consciousnesses

haven't been raised enough to want to trade in their Gucci high heels for soccer spikes.

Unfortunately, after each frenzy of patriotic feminist chauvinism, our poor women athletes come home and set up a domestic pro league that rapidly loses the interest of most everybody except lesbians and the kind of guy fan who'll watch anything on ESPN2. That's because, to be frank, even the best women aren't anywhere near as good at sports as the best men, so what's the point in watching them unless they are kicking foreign butt?

Not surprisingly, the young English women in "Beckham" are better actresses than soccer players. Indeed, one reason Europeans don't like women's soccer is because they know what well-played soccer looks like, which we don't. Not that we should care. If humans were built like horses, soccer would be the perfect sport, but as a game for a species with opposable thumbs, it's played with the wrong set of limbs.

Another example of the film's American approach: "Beckham" assumes that because Jesminder's traditionalist mother won't let her play in the girls' league final instead of taking part in her sister's nuptials, she's justified in acting like a big drip through all the ceremony and celebration. After all, as any good modern American knows, you shouldn't suppress your emotions just because of some outdated stiff-upper-lip social convention about not ruining your sister's wedding day.

In the end—and if you haven't seen a girl-power sports movie in the last 20 years, please avert your eyes because you'll be shocked, shocked to learn this—Jesminder dashes away and scores the winning goal, which makes all the fuddy-duddies repent and the audience cheer.

Yet, if you enter the theater with such unenlightened ideas as thinking that a Sikh wedding, with its kaleidoscopic colors, would be a lot more fun to attend than the typical nil-nil soccer match, you may leave with your churlish un-American attitude intact. ■

Rated PG-13 for language and sexual content.

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BOOKS

[*Feminist Fantasies*, Phyllis Schlafly, Spence Publishing, 262 pages]

Woman's Best Friend

By Frederica Mathewes-Green

NOT EVERY FIFTY-SOMETHING mother of six decides to go to law school; not every one who does graduates near the top of her class. Not every woman juggles these high-octane pursuits with a syndicated column and an uphill battle against the Equal Rights Amendment. But then again, not every woman is Phyllis Schlafly. You can hear three decades of bruised feminists breathing "Amen."

Feminist Fantasies collects essays produced by Schlafly over the last three decades in her untiring campaign to make people attend to simple logic. The main thing that comes across in these pieces is the clarity of her mind—a force against which most feminists are defenseless. The book is arranged in five sections, focusing on the feminist cause in general, then on that cause in relation to the media, public policy, the military, and motherhood. Within each section a score of essays is arranged in chronological order.

Take, for example, the earliest essay here, "What's Wrong with Equal Rights for Women?" published in 1972. Right

from the start, from her very title, we know we are dealing with an author who sees no reason not to march up and yank the lion's beard. Perhaps you've forgotten how unstoppable the ERA appeared at that time. It had passed the Senate and the House by landslide proportions; 30 states had ratified it, and only eight more were needed. The notion of equal rights for women had laid hold of public consciousness with a quality of historic inevitability, as if we'd all been slumbering and just awakened to this broad, enlightening truth. It was unthinkable to question it.

In fact, Phyllis Schlafly got involved in the issue because a TV producer couldn't find anybody to question it. Schlafly's field was not women's issues but foreign policy, in which she had already written scholarly and best-selling books. A local TV station asked her to hold up the opposition side of a debate on the ERA, and Schlafly reluctantly agreed to read over the text of the amendment. The next sound was the screech of metal as an "unstoppable" juggernaut ground to a halt. Over the next nine years only five more states passed the ERA, despite an unprecedented deadline extension; during that same period, five states actually *rescinded* their ratification. Once Schlafly walked on the scene, victory was sure.

This earliest essay betrays the blunt forthrightness that consistently characterizes her work. Her opening lines are, "Of all the classes of people who have ever lived, the American woman is the most privileged. We have the most rights and rewards, and the fewest duties." Schlafly then explains that American women are fortunate because our culture values the family and lays responsibilities on men so that women can safely bear and care for children. It is "a fact of life—which no legislation or agitation can erase—that women have babies and men don't."

She is just six sentences into this essay, and already you can picture light bulbs going on over the feathery hairstyles of 1972 readers. Hey, this isn't what that lady was saying on Phil Donahue yesterday! But it makes sense!

Schlafly continues, "If you don't like this fundamental difference, you will have to take up your complaint with God because he created us this way. The fact that women, not men, have babies is not the fault of selfish and domineering men, or the establishment, or any clique of conspirators who want to oppress women. It's simply the way God made us."

That no-nonsense tone is emblematic of Schlafly's style. (The reference to God, on the other hand, is an anomaly; she never required readers to share her religious beliefs in order to agree with her.) Such bluntness is an unusual style for leading a revolution. A cultural turnaround is usually marked by emotive rhetoric, sometimes even dazzling oratory. Such leaders are often charismatic figures who compel by sheer force of personality. Schlafly just takes you by the shoulders and says "Look here," and you discover that you're nodding. She doesn't accomplish this by asserting her own power or genius; in fact, hers may be the most refreshingly ego-free writing coming out of Washington. She never gives the impression of condescending to lesser minds. On the contrary, it is her assumption that others are just as bright as she is that causes her to be regularly frustrated with their inability to grasp the obvious.

This frustration is a sign of the element that is consistently missing in her work, though it could hardly be called a flaw in light of that work's accomplishments. The missing note in Schlafly's writing is empathy. She honestly does not understand people whose minds are squishier than her own. Over and over she wonders why men and women would make stupid decisions and concludes that feminism has somehow infected and confused them.

She writes, "At the end of the movie [*Kramer v. Kramer*], Mr. Kramer was unhappy, Mrs. Kramer was unhappy, and the child was unhappiest of all because he was left with only one parent and he loved them both. The marriage was destroyed, and the only cause was the psychological problems caused by feminism."

Feminism did provoke psychological problems, breeding self-pity, suspicion,

and resentment in many faltering marriages. But the reason people were, and are, susceptible to such sirens lies deeper than mere feminist propaganda. Humans are prone to self-indulgence (call it "sin") and easily confused and led astray (call it "the devil"), and feminism is just one more in the long, sad parade of intoxicants. The deeper question is why they crave such poisons.

Schlafly's strong-minded clarity is immensely valuable, but what is missing is the inside story—the understanding of others' complexity and motivations. What is missing is an understanding of how another person might disagree with you even though she can't defeat your logic; how someone could have arrived at a conclusion that might well be misguided and even harmful and yet cling to it with all her heart. Schlafly is not swayed by fashion or a need for others to like her and can only scrutinize the surface of weaker mortals. Well, that's not what we need her for. If you want profound insight into human motivation, read Tolstoy.

On the other hand, don't. In "Going Around with the Wrong Crowd," Schlafly examines how the characters in Paul Johnson's *Intellectuals* treated the women in their lives. Badly, it turns out. No wonder liberal women complain about men, she concludes: liberal men stink. While figures like Sartre, Picasso, and others certainly demonstrate her point, it is heavy-handed to lump Tolstoy in as well, who was never unfaithful to his wife and tormented her more by his noisy attempts to maintain marital celibacy. Tolstoy was a complex but desperately honorable man, one driven by zeal that was frequently misguided yet unquestionably sincere. There is a reason Malcolm Muggeridge chose him as one of the seven men of great spiritual hunger examined in *A Third Testament*. But all this is too much to fit the grid of Schlafly's much simpler world. Her flat statement that Tolstoy "refused to admit that a woman could be a serious, adult, intelligent human being" is refuted by too many of his characters to name.

Instead, it is crisp, incisive logic that

we seek in Schlafly. Take her essay titled "Macho Victims," in which she wonders how Anita Hill could claim to be a victim of sexual harassment. "As an EEOC lawyer, Anita Hill knew exactly how to cope with sexual harassment, if she had ever suffered any from Clarence Thomas or anyone else." Light bulbs are now popping over the moussed hairstyles of 1991 readers. Schlafly has a talent for making irrefutably obvious what was murky a moment before.

She goes on, "The very nature of being a lawyer is to thrive in a hostile environment. A lawyer complaining about this is like a doctor complaining about working in a bloody environment." (Schlafly, remember, is a lawyer herself.) Having made this point squarely and succinctly, she goes to point two: why do feminists think they can have it both ways? Are women such weenies that even an EEOC lawyer trembles in her Blahniks when a male gives her a saucy wink? Or are they super-macho "Thelma and Louise" types, who beat men up and sail over a cliff in a final dramatic gesture of independence? The essay concludes, "Death frees the macho-feminist buddies from having to suffer the fate of living in a male-dominated world."

Yes, that is literally the last sentence in the essay. Schlafly had two points to make, that feminist whiners act like victims, and yet want us to believe they're tougher than guys, and when she gets to the end of the second thought she doesn't even give us a summary paragraph. Many of her essays conclude in just this way—they don't end, they just stop. Schlafly is not one to keep tidying up the pansies around an essay. But, again, that's not what we need her for. If you're looking for a pow ending, read *Gone With the Wind*.

In fact, do. Schlafly hails it as "A Non-Feminist Novel" because "Feminist ideology teaches that women were helpless and oppressed prior to the women's lib movement of the 1970's. They can't accept the role model of a woman who faces life's challenges without government help."

Now, does that strike you as a strange reading of *Gone With the Wind*? Is your

primary association with Scarlett O'Hara, "the woman who never accepted government help"? Schlafly says that "Communist regimes have banned GWTW" because it celebrates the individual rather than the state. She hails "spunky Scarlett" as a non-feminist because she exemplifies the kind of story we love to hear: "about heroism in the face of great odds, about strong-willed people who survive when their world is blown away with the wind, about people's determination to rise again from the ruins."

Here again, Schlafly has missed the inside story. Scarlett is a relentlessly selfish woman who doesn't hesitate to use or abandon those who love her, even her own children, if they stand in the way of her greed and ambition. If a man behaved like Scarlett does, we'd call him a snake. It was Margaret Mitchell's genius to craft Scarlett in such a way that we nevertheless care about her and even root for her, while flinching at her thoughtless cruelty. Because we're allowed inside her head we identify with her, we want her to survive, and we hope that her heart will be softened in time. Scarlett is an expert portrait of vibrant, appealing selfishness, and therein lies her lasting fascination. She's not just a tract against communism. But getting inside another person's head is not one of Schlafly's talents. This is no loss. She already has more talents than one person could be expected to bear.

All that Schlafly admires in Scarlett we can admire in her. American women owe Schlafly a great debt for her own strong will and determination. Without her we would now be dealing with the clumsy aftermath of the ERA, and all the myriad problems that, without Schlafly's help, we would not have foreseen. She's an unusual woman, with a strong, clear mind that few, male or female, can equal. May God send us dozens more. ■

Frederica Mathewes-Green writes regularly for NPR's Morning Edition, Beliefnet.com, Christianity Today, and other publications. Her latest book is Gender: Men, Women, Sex, Feminism.

[*Empire: The Rise and Demise of the British World Order and the Lessons for Global Power*, Niall Ferguson, Basic Books, 352 pages]

Taking Up the Burden

By Richard Cummings

AS WE SAT at the Oxford-Cambridge dinner in Washington in the midst of the Vietnam War listening to Dean Rusk, Rhodes Scholar and Lyndon Johnson's Secretary of State, exhort us to be the inheritors of the British Empire, I became uneasy. Listening to his passionate oratory about America's obligation to bring democratic institutions and the rule of law to the world, in the tradition of the British Empire, I kept thinking about the ranting of Lyndon Johnson, who hardly seemed to me the logical successor to Palmerston, Disraeli, or Robert Cecil.

As one looks at the assembled power-brokers of the Bush administration, from Bush himself to Cheney, Rumsfeld, Powell, Rice, Wolfowitz, and Perle (it starts to sound like a tedious Washington law firm), I get the same queasy feeling that this is not the bunch that is going to create the successor to the British Empire. To the contrary, they have engendered so much rage around the world by their clumsy posturing that even the vast, combined military and economic might of America seems more like some enormous behemoth than a beneficent civilizer of the wretched of the earth.

Niall Ferguson, who has been described by the London *Independent* as "unarguably Britain's brightest younger historian," is Herzog Professor of Financial History at New York University's Stern School of Business. His thesis, is that, on balance, the British Empire was essentially benevolent and that it created what we know as the "modern world," with liberal democracy and free trade triumphant globally. His sub-thesis,

which sounds as if it might have been expounded by Dean Rusk, is that America needs to know the history of the British Empire because it was itself a product of it, and that it is its legitimate successor as the only power capable of playing an imperial role in the interests of creating world peace in which free trade can flourish and democracy can be sustained. When one examines the reality of just who is in charge of America and when one considers the cost of such an enterprise, one is hard-pressed not to conclude that this is more than a bit like wishful thinking.

If this starts to sound as if I take issue with Niall Ferguson's conclusions, let it be said that he does at least acknowledge a basic difference between what he sees as the American Empire and the British. The British exported both capital and people (who brought British civilization with them), while America does the opposite. It imports far more than it exports, and it is inundated with immigrants from all over the world who are threatening to transform totally the cultural landscape of the so-called "mother country." It was the English language that was perhaps the hallmark of the empire, as Ferguson argues, while America has become a *de facto* bilingual country, with Spanish spoken more frequently than English in a good portion of the country.

THE SO-CALLED AMERICAN EMPIRE HAS STARTED TO RESEMBLE THE SPANISH EMPIRE—WITH ITS ACCOUNT DEFICITS PAID FOR BY THE GOLD IT EXTRACTED FROM ITS COLONIES.

In fact, in some important ways, the so-called American Empire that Ferguson insists exists has started to resemble the Spanish Empire—with its account deficits paid for by the gold it extracted from its colonies—more than the British, as Harold James of Princeton has observed. Notwithstanding this resemblance, James postulates that neither 16th-century Spain, nor 19th-century Britain fit America as models. He, like Andrew Bacevich, in his cogently

argued book, *American Empire*, sees Rome as the basis for the American imperial model. To James, George W. Bush would do better, in seeking appropriate lessons, to turn to Gibbon, whose first volume of *The Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire*, was published in 1776, the year of the signing of the American Declaration of Independence, but who fails to appear in the index to Ferguson's book, which obviously owes its title in part to Gibbon's masterwork. This is a small conceit but one that cannot go unmentioned.

To Gibbon, the reasons for the decline and fall of the Roman Empire had most to do with a revolt against "Roman universalism driven by a Christian and egalitarian protest against the unequal distribution of property," James argues. But as James points out, "Maybe Gibbon was also making a contemporary reference of his own, to the weaknesses of the late-18th-century British empire, with its global commercial culture, so signally exposed and attacked by the American revolution."

Daniel Defoe, Ferguson points out, noted that England had become a major importer of foreign products, a reality that drove its imperial ambitions. Ferguson quips, "The rise of the British Empire, it might be said, had less to do with the Protestant work ethic or Eng-

lish individualism than with the British sweet tooth. Annual imports of sugar doubled in Defoe's lifetime, and this was only the biggest part of an enormous consumer boom." And what had been items of luxury for the elite soon became everyday enjoyments of the general population, including tea, coffee, and tobacco, which were all imported. To this, they added imported textiles, all of which tended to make Britain a debtor nation, were it not for the markets it

began to guarantee for itself through its empire. Beginning as a series of loosely confederated semi-private enterprises, such as the East India Company, it was soon "formalized" into a "Greater Britain," with the Crown exercising sovereignty over vast foreign territories, including the "Jewel in the Crown," India, of which Queen Victoria was famously proclaimed empress.

Ferguson then takes us on a wonderful journey through the empire's colorful history. With its illustrations, diagrams, and anecdotes, it is set out like a gigantic theme park. Jamaica here, India there, Kipling, Queen Victoria, Gordon of Khartoum, Joseph Chamberlain, Rhodes, a host of other idiosyncratic characters, the Boer war, elephants, and splendid uniforms with helmets, all brilliantly portrayed as if it were a film, like "Zulu," "The Four Feathers," or "Gunga Din," as Britain was transformed into a great creditor nation through its vast holdings around the world.

Ferguson insists that without the British Empire, international capitalism would never have flourished:

Without the spread of British rule around the world, it is hard to believe that the structures of liberal capitalism would have been so successfully established in so many different economies around the world. Those empires that adopted alternative models—The Russian and the Chinese—imposed incalculable miseries on their subject peoples. Without the influence of British imperial rule, it is hard to believe that the institutions of parliamentary democracy would have been adopted by the majority of states in the world, as they are today. India, the world's largest democracy, owes more than it is fashionable to acknowledge to British rule. Its elite schools, its universities, its civil service, its army, its press and its parliamentary system all still have discernibly British models.

He also thanks the Empire for free trade, through the breaking down of tariffs, all of which led to a "modern world" that Britain herself created. The lessons for America are that this model must be sustained and that America is the only country in the world capable of doing the job through a "new imperialism." He quotes Churchill in support of this thesis:

There are on the globe only two proven large-scale organizations of social units, the United States and the British Empire. The latter is no longer for export. ... But the United States ... is the supreme example of a federation in being. ... If the world is ever to have prosperity and peace, there must be some kind of federation—I will not say of democracies, but of States which accept the reign of Law. In such a task she seems to me to be the predestined leader.

All of which brings me back to Dean Rusk, who was responsible as much as anyone, for picking up the white man's burden and leading the charge into Vietnam, a war that almost destroyed the American economy and led to the catastrophic presidency of Richard Nixon, in which the "reign of law" not only vanished from the world, but from the United States as well. To Nixon's credit, he dismembered a basic aspect of the imperial IMF, but it was only by trashing the dollar. His legacy was one of chaos not order. Not for nothing was he the president who put those stupid-looking uniformed guards in front of the White House, as though it were the presidential palace of a fictitious minor Latin American dictatorship out of an Ann Patchett novel. It was hardly, in any case, the changing of the guard at Buckingham Palace.

Ferguson's idea that America can lead the world into a federation under its rule so that world peace and international trade will blossom is a chimera. A more likely scenario of such an enterprise would involve countless new Vietnams, from Colombia to the Middle East, where populations resist the imposition

of Anglo-American values. The invasion of Iraq may well open a Pandora's Box of "blowbacks," to use Chalmers Johnson's phrase, against American imperialism in the entire Middle East, much as the CIA-backed overthrow of Mossadegh and the restoration of the Shah did in Iran. The so-called liberation of Afghanistan and the War Against Terrorism could end up dragging America into a century of endless and draining conflicts, the very kind that brought down Rome.

As Pat Buchanan has exhorted, America was meant to be "A Republic, Not An Empire." An imperial republic is an oxymoron, as Rome and France found out. Britain never suffered from this dichotomy. It was, and remains, a monarchy, an institution to which empire is natural, although it might be said that the drive for empire was conceived with Cromwell, which led to the religious zeal of the American colonists who brought their non-conformist religious beliefs with them to the New World after the Restoration.

But Americans are no longer like the Puritans. They are more likely to resemble the self-absorbed, individualistic narcissists of Michael Cunningham's *The Hours* and the film made from it, in which the only true American is the soldier back from the war, who is deserted by his wife to die of cancer at a young age. A nation of Lizzie Grubmans, P-Diddys, Jennifer Lopezes, and Monica Lewinskys, not to mention the Bill Clintons, is not likely to take up the white man's burden. Nor could any American possibly write today, as Cecil Day Lewis wrote,

Tell them in England, if they ask
What brought us to these wars,
To this plateau beneath the night's
Great manifold of stars—
It was not fraud or foolishness.
Glory, revenge or pay:
We came because our open eyes
Could see no other way." ■

Richard Cummings is the author of a new novel, The Immortalists, as well as The Pied Piper: Allard K. Lowenstein and the Liberal Dream.

[*Warrior Politics: Why Leadership Requires A Pagan Ethos*, Robert Kaplan, Vintage Books, 198 pages]

Realism Unwound

By Clark Stooksbury

GLOBE-TROTTING JOURNALIST and *Atlantic Monthly* correspondent, Robert Kaplan uses his brief book, *Warrior Politics*, as a platform to advocate foreign policy "realism." Realism is indeed the proper perspective for examining world affairs. No matter how many treaties and multilateral organizations exist, the basic rule of relations among countries can be summed up in the adage, "might makes right." Kaplan's worldview puts great emphasis on the "morality of consequences." He wants results not good intentions. He has a refreshing skepticism

towards democracy, particularly in the Middle East, understanding that the results in "places like Egypt and Syria may unleash extremist forces that, in the near term, will further destabilize the Middle East." *Warrior Politics* was written long before the recent debate over war in Iraq, but it is hard to imagine Kaplan espousing fantasies about the near instantaneous sprouting of democratic capitalism following the U.S. invasion.

Kaplan approvingly cites the war leadership of FDR, and particularly Winston Churchill, as examples of realism in action. Of course, to question the greatness of these two, and the flow of events in the 1940s, is to be branded a Hitler-lover, but here I go. Churchill was a great lover of the British Empire, a hater of Communism, and he went to war with Germany over the sovereignty of Poland. Among the results of World War II were the collapse of the British Empire, the spread of Communism, and the absorption of Poland by Stalin. I will not argue that Churchill and FDR handed over Eastern Europe to Stalin; the Red Army took it. But the unconditional surrender policy articulated by Roosevelt and acquiesced in by Churchill, especially when coupled with the terror-bombing of civilian targets in Germany, stiffened German resolve and weakened anti-Nazi resistance, thus probably extending the war and giving Stalin time to move his armies west. Of course, Churchill had no good alternatives in 1940. But it is a failure of imagination to assume, that since his and Roosevelt's actions resulted in the eventual defeat of Nazi Germany, they followed the only possible path to victory; and the results—including the bombings of Japanese and German civilians, mass repatriations of Soviet defectors, and crimes against German civilians after the war—were simply the inevitable costs of "realism."

Kaplan's worldview takes a hit, when acting in the role of Machiavelli's press agent, he presumes to tell the reader that the late Yitzhak Rabin used just the right amount of brutality when responding to the Palestinian *intifada* of the late 1980s, while Augusto Pinochet used excessive

force in his consolidation of power in Chile. Rabin reportedly instructed Israeli soldiers to "go in and break their [Palestinian] bones." Rabin's willingness to resort to brutality allowed him to become a peacemaker. Rabin's Western admirers prefer to forget his ruthlessness against the Palestinians, but Machiavelli would have understood that such tactics were central to Rabin's "virtue." In an imperfect world, Machiavelli says, good men bent on doing good must know how to be bad. Therefore, for Machiavelli, a policy is defined not by its excellence but by its outcome. Kaplan tells us that in reference to Augusto Pinochet, however, Machiavelli would not approve of his excessive violence. But Kaplan is missing something here. Rabin's peace did not hold. Just a few years after his death, the second Palestinian *intifada* began. Say what you will about Pinochet's thuggery, which included Corleone-esque car-bombings of his enemies in Buenos Aires and Washington, D.C., he peacefully stepped down and left a country free of war and turmoil. Israel has no lasting peace, only occasional lulls in the violence.

At times Kaplan is prescient. Although writing prior to Sept. 11, 2001, he predicts conflicts with stateless "warriors" such as Osama bin Laden and discusses the difficulties inherent in confronting them in conventional warfare. "The only target may be the offending chief or warrior himself. In eastern Afghanistan, where Osama bin Laden hides out, attacking his 'infrastructure' means destroying a few burlap tents, cell phones, and computers, all of which are immediately replaceable." Two presidents have confronted bin Laden. Bill Clinton lobbed a few cruise missiles at bin Laden's tents in a transparent attempt to distract attention away from his scandals. If his actions had any effect, it was surely to embolden the terrorists. President Bush has been far more substantial in dealing with bin Laden. He sent troops in and drove the Taliban and al-Qaeda underground, but it is not yet clear that war in Afghanistan is a success.

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Kaplan is less prescient when discussing the way wars will become decreasingly democratic:

In an age when it took weeks to mobilize and transport armored divisions across seas, it was possible for American presidents to consult the people and Congress about doing so. In the future, when combat brigades can be inserted anywhere in the world in ninety-six hours and entire divisions in 120 hours, and with the majority of our military actions lightning air and computer strikes, the decision to use force will be made autocratically by small groups of civilians and general officers, the differences between them fading as time goes on.

Of course, presidents will always engage in quick in-and-out military operations *à la* Grenada. But waging a full-scale land war requires time. If George Bush could have gone to war in Iraq on a whim, he would have done so a year or more ago. Instead, he saber-rattled, got the fig leaf of Congressional compliance, and worked to re-establish a UN arms-inspection regime. Bush's road to war was easier than Roosevelt's, who tried all manner of schemes to provoke Germany until the attack on Pearl Harbor got America in via the back door.

Democracy usually rears its ugly head retrospectively. The party that takes America into foreign wars usually gets punished at the polls. George W. Bush may win a war in Iraq only to lose at the polls next year, which will be something for conservative wing of the War Party to keep in mind if President Kerry appoints the successor to Chief Justice Rehnquist.

Towards the end of *Warrior Politics*, Kaplan becomes outright unrealistic. He thinks America can and must dominate the world. All we have to sacrifice is our country.

And for American power to endure, it will need to be impelled by a more primitive level of altruism than that of the universal society it seeks to encourage.

American patriotism, honoring the flag, July Fourth celebrations, and so on must survive long enough to provide the military armature for an emerging global civilization that may eventually make such patriotism obsolete.

In other words, we can maintain our backward attachments to our flag and kinsmen until such time that the U.S. manages to remake the entire world in our image. But is such a vision plausible? The phrase, "global civilization" is so abstract as to be almost meaningless. People do not actually live in the "globe"; they live in countries, states, cities, and villages. No single "civilization" is emerging. In this country, civilization often appears to be fragmenting on regional, ethnic, and linguistic lines. A few years ago, our peaceful neighbor to the north almost disintegrated when Francophone Quebec nearly voted to secede.

Kaplan gives no indication why America will have the power to impose this "global civilization" upon a world of peoples separated by often irreconcilable religious and ethnic differences. On top of that, he notes the fragility of American commitment to global dominance. "American imperium can only be done nimbly; a single war with significant loss of American life ... could ruin the public's appetite for internationalism." He does not define what he means by "sig-

nificant," but in any war with a tenuous relationship to America's national interests it cannot be more than anywhere from a few dozen to a few hundred. Although Americans have seen their boys nicked-and-dimed away in small-scale conflicts for years, they have grown tired of it in recent years, forcing American presidents to abandon missions in Lebanon and Somalia. A new wrinkle may emerge that Kaplan does not consider: if girls start dying in significant numbers as well.

Kaplan has staked out his claim as a realist, and he is admirably blunt about using foreign policy in support of the national interest instead of promoting democracy and human rights. Compared to his fellow hawks, the neocons, he is devoid of the sort of messianic language that one sees in outlets such as the *Weekly Standard*, where Michael Ledeen once called for a "GOP contract with the world." Refreshingly, he also avoids their habit of smearing his opponents as anti-American bigots. But the result—endless attempts run the world from Washington, D.C.—is pretty much the same. ■

Clark Stooksbury served six years in the Marine Corps Reserve and writes for The American Enterprise, Chronicles, and Liberty.



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The Bum Frum

In the summer of 1954, Spyros Skouras, then president of 20th Century Fox, paid a nostalgic visit to his birthplace, the famed town of Sparta, in the south of Greece.

Skouras had left Greece as a poor, illiterate boy in his early teens, but through hard work and enterprise had become a hot shot in Hollywood—without, as one wag said at the time, even pretending to be Jewish.

Greeks tend to take great pride in the achievements of their countrymen abroad, and as Spyros Skouras was the first Greek Hollywood tycoon (and, as it turned out, the last), the proverbial red carpet was laid out by the authorities. Greece back then was a monarchy, and King Paul's wife, Queen Frederika, was known as much for her outspoken and domineering nature as for an extreme patriotism that bordered on the fanatical. Their Majesties invited Skouras to lunch in their summer palace of Tatoi (eventually stolen by a socialist government from the royal family). Skouras was a soft-spoken man whose Greek was limited and whose knowledge of Greek politics was non-existent. What Skouras was certain about was that, had he stayed in Greece, he'd still be herding sheep. He made this point time and again.

Things came to a head when the queen asked Skouras which side he would take in the unlikely case of war between Uncle Sam and what I call the Olive Republic. The Hollywood tycoon did not evade the question. "It would break my heart were it to happen, Your Majesty," he was reported to have said, "but I would fight on the side of the United States." Although the question was a rhetorical one and most likely in

jest, nothing illustrates the conundrum of patriotism better than the queen's idea that one's birthplace binds one forever.

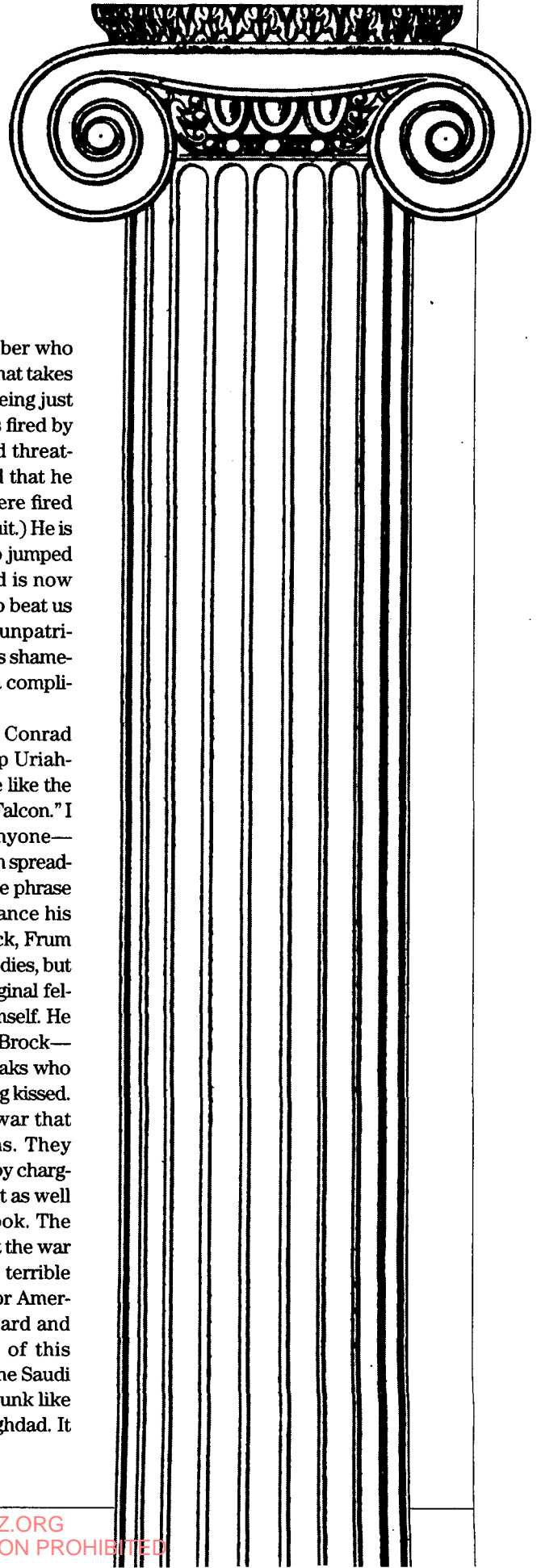
Years later, a Greek colonel asked me the same question. He got the same answer. My family and my ancestors have always fought for Greece, but I feel I owe her nothing. After the communists blew up all our factories—which my father had closed down at the start of World War II—it was Uncle Sam who provided us the opportunity to start over again. I volunteered for duty at age 38 when the Turks threatened in 1974 and have represented my country in three sports on an international level. My loyalties, however, lie with one uncle only, and his name starts with a capital S.

After the socialist Andreas Papan-dreou—the greatest American hater this side of Baghdad—came to power in 1981, he quickly proceeded to change a proud country with a great history into an unmitigated disaster. He blackmailed NATO, ruined the Greek tourist industry, gave shelter to terrorists like Abu Nidal, stole like an African dictator, and made Greece a laughing-stock. Worst of all, through demagoguery, he convinced Greeks to become the most anti-American people in Europe. I was caught in the midst of all this, wishing to be loyal to my birthplace, yet defending Uncle Sam so much that the Greek government went after me, using the courts to try to shut me up. "Traitor" was among the mildest adjectives hurled at me by the Hellenic Fourth Estate.

This brings me to the point I wish to make. People who claim their country to be right even when they know it is wrong are either liars, fools, opportunists, or all three. There comes a time when one has to follow one's conscience. Take the present, for example. I write this while a war is raging in Iraq and our armed forces are in harm's way. The outcome is as certain as death and taxes. As I pray for a quick and bloodless victory, I've come full circle. Now it's an American magazine that's calling me unpatriotic.

A brief flashback: As *National Review* wrote upon *The American Conservative's* launch, "Taki was foisted on an unsuspecting world by ..." or words to that effect. Actually it was Bill Buckley who gave me my first break. He and Arnaud de Borchgrave have been my greatest supporters from the start and a very tough start it was. The trouble was, although eager and gung ho, words did not exactly flow. At my best, I wrote like Abe Rosenthal at his worst. *Oy veh!* It was horrible, but Bill and Arnaud refused to quit on me. Thirty-three years ago, I finally broke into print in *NR* with a blood-and-guts story from Jordan that had Pat Buckley screaming over the telephone to Bill, "When poor Taki is torn limb from limb by Black September, I hope you'll be able to live with yourself." (Palestinian fighters did pick me and couple of hacks up, and I did have a letter to King Hussein from his French mistress in my pocket. After the three of us ate it, we were told we were free to go.)

Those were wonderful days at *National Review*. It was like being on the 1927 Yankees, with the Babe and Lou Gehrig, or the 1961 team, with Mickey Mantle and Roger Maris.



Look at the lineup that started with Bill Buckley: James Burnham, Russell Kirk, Frank Meyer, Ernest van den Haag, William Rickenbacker, Chilton Williamson, John Simon, Nika Hazelton, Joe Sobran, Rich Brookhiser, Linda Bridges, Erik von Kuehnelt-Leddihn, John Leonard, Tom Wolfe, and on down the line. The managing editor, Priscilla Buckley, was probably the nicest woman ever to edit a magazine, and definitely one of the best wordsmiths around. She humored me and encouraged me nonstop, and I shall always be indebted to her. The great James Burnham even came to Greece once on holiday and spent a day with me trying to teach me some writing tricks. (More paragraphs; it makes it easier for the editor.)

If it sounds idyllic, it was. We had all embarked on a great crusade against liberalism, the Evil Empire, the omnipotent state, and other threats to our freedoms. (Multiculturalism and PC had not as yet been invented, but some wise people were predicting them already.)

So you can imagine my surprise when in *NR*'s last issue I found myself and my colleagues Pat and Scott listed as "unpatriotic conservatives" in "a war against America." Mind you, I was in excellent company. Others accused were people like Tom Fleming, Llewellyn Rockwell, Robert Novak, Sam Francis, Justin Raimondo, Joe Sobran, and Eric Margolis. I was flattered until I saw the writer's name. One David Frum.

Now let's get one thing straight. Unlike Pat and Scott, and despite the advice given to me by an *NR* higher-up, I will not take the high road. If this bum Frum thinks he's the only one who cannot see a belt without hitting below it, he's got another thing coming. From

what I've heard, Frum is a climber who fouls everyone and everything that takes him in, with the White House being just one example. This buffoon was fired by the Bushies, then went around threatening to sue if someone hinted that he didn't quit on his own. (You were fired Frum, and I welcome your lawsuit.) He is a cheap Canadian careerist who jumped on the neocon bandwagon and is now using anti-Semitism as a stick to beat us with. Mind you, to be called "unpatriotic" and an "anti-Semite" by this shameless publicity hound has to be a compliment.

I only met Frum once, at a Conrad Black party, where he came up Uriah-Heep-like, actually looking more like the oily Peter Lorre in "The Maltese Falcon." I know his kind. He will use anyone—including his wife, which he did in spreading the claim that he invented the phrase "axis of evil"—in order to advance his career. Like his icon Sammy Glick, Frum tries to make it by stepping on bodies, but he will end up like Glick, a marginal fellow who tells tall tales about himself. He reminds me of another David—Brock—both of them being ugly pipsqueaks who specialize in telling without having kissed.

We are now in a senseless war that was promoted by the neocons. They have tried to shut down debate by charging anti-Semitism. It is the oldest as well as the cheapest trick in the book. The reason I'm so adamantly against the war is because I believe it will have terrible consequences in the long run for America. We should be looking inward and going after the Asan Akbars of this world, most likely financed by the Saudi rulers. The rest is bunk, and a punk like Frum can rant from here to Baghdad. It will not change the truth. ■

What's on the minds of today's leading conservatives?



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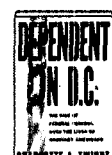
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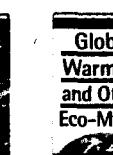
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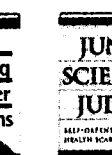
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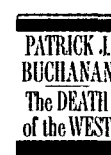
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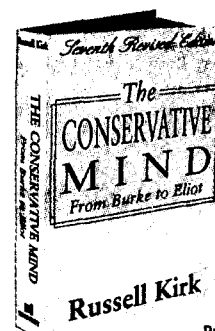
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